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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

NARRAGANSETT CLUB.

*(First Series.)*

VOLUME II.



PROVIDENCE, R. I.

MDCCCLXVII.

SUBSCRIBERS' EDITION.

TWO HUNDRED COPIES.

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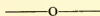
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MASTER JOHN COTTON'S  
ANSWER TO  
MASTER ROGER WILLIAMS.

EDITED BY

REV. J. LEWIS DIMAN.



## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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MASTER John Cotton's *Answer to Master* Roger Williams closes a discussion which deserves the careful study of all who would correctly estimate the controversy between Williams and the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Nowhere else will the grounds of that controversy be found exhibited with such distinctness. The tract, which is here for the first time reprinted, is entitled therefore to a conspicuous place in any collection relating to Rhode Island history.

About ten years before this Reply was written, at some time it would seem, during his "sorrowfull Winters flight," Williams received from Cotton the Letter which was the immediate occasion of the discussion. In this Letter, which has been reprinted in the first volume of the *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, Cotton sought to convince Williams of the insufficiency of those grounds which had led him to reject the fellowship of the Massachusetts churches. When Roger Williams was in England, in the year 1643, he probably submitted this Letter to the inspection of his

friends, and by some means, but without his authority, it was put in print. His "formerly intended Answer," which he had withheld with the hope that the views of Cotton might in time be modified, was accordingly presented "to the same public view," and in turn drew from Cotton this elaborate Reply. At this time Cotton and Williams were engaged in their more celebrated controversy respecting Toleration, and it therefore happened that this tract, which was published in 1647, made its appearance in the same volume with *The Bloudy Tenent Washed*, a circumstance which has caused it to be sometimes confounded with a work with which in reality it had no connection. It was the earlier written of the two, although in the volume it has the second place.

In this discussion is furnished the fullest illustration of opinions which seem to have been more prominent than any other in the mind of Williams from the day when, according to his own statement, he had declined to become Teacher of the Boston Church, "because he durst not officiate to an unseparated people," until the day when he renounced the communion of his own church in Salem, because they would not funder themselves from the churches in the Bay. Like Robinson, of Leyden, in the earlier stage of his career, like Canne, of Amsterdam, Williams urged a renunciation of all fellowship with the Church of England, a position which the Puritans of Massachusetts had never taken, and which they now wholly refused to sanction. Whether Williams, during his five years residence in Massachusetts, rendered himself more obnoxious by his advocacy of Religious Toleration, or by his advocacy of the principles of Rigid Separation, is a question upon which the Reply of Cotton will be found to throw great light.



The precise question at issue between Cotton and Williams was, whether it was "necessary to Church-fellowship, that the members admitted thereunto, should all of them see, and expressly bewaile all the pollutions which they have been defiled with in their former Church-fellowship, Ministry, Worship, Government, &c." This thesis Williams zealously advocated, and Cotton opposed. While acknowledging and deploring the corruptions that existed in the Church of England, Cotton maintained that the "mixt fellowship of ignorant and prophane persons doth not evacuate or disannul their Church estate—the store of malignant and noysome humors in the body, yea the deadnesse and rottennesse of many members in the body, though they make the body an unsound and corrupt body, yet they do not make the body no body." And touching the corruption in Government, Cotton denied that the "church estate" of the Parishes had been extinguished by the national establishment; nor would he acknowledge that there had been any pollution in a ministry marked by such "Truth of Godlinesse, Truth of Ministerial Gifts, Truth of Election and acceptance unto Office by true Churches of Christ, Truth of sound, and wholesome, and soule-saving Doctrine, and Truth of holy and exemplary Conversation."

While, however, the main subject discussed in this Reply relates to the dispute between the Nonconformist and the Separatist, its chief historical value arises from its incidental discussion of another question respecting which the most opposite opinions are still maintained.<sup>1</sup> A single allusion in Cotton's Letter to the "sentence of civill banishment" passed against

<sup>1</sup> "In reviewing the measures which led to the banishment of Roger Williams, we find that they all proceeded from the

firmness with which, upon every occasion, he maintained the doctrine that the civil power has no control over the re-

Williams, drew from the latter a statement of the grounds of that decree, as they were "rightly summed up" by one of the magistrates after the trial. This statement, which Williams thus endorses, with Cotton's extended observations in reply, furnishes the most complete account that now remains of these proceedings, and by the two persons whose testimony is on every account entitled to the greatest weight. Although Cotton somewhat harshly criticises the statement made by Williams, yet a careful comparison of the two accounts will show that they do not involve any essential contradiction.

According to Williams the grounds of his banishment were the following opinions :

"1. That we have not our Land by Patten from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Patten.

"2. That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Sweare, to Pray, as being actions of Gods Worship.

"3. That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England.

"4. That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies, and Goods, and outward state of men."<sup>2</sup>

This account of the matter Cotton terms "a fraudulent expression of the Particulars," for each one of these four opinions, he affirms, was known to be held by many who were still tolerated in the full enjoyment both of civil and religious liberty. It was not for the mere holding of opinions, but for the turbulent assertion of them, that Roger Williams had

ligious opinions of men." Arnold, *Hist. R. I.*, vol. 1, p. 41.

"The sound and generous principles of a perfect freedom of the conscience in religious concerns can scarcely be shown

to have been involved in this dispute." Palfrey, *Hist. New England*, vol. 1, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cotton's *Letter Examined and Answered*, pp. 4, 5.

been banished. According to Cotton's "best observation and remembrance," the two things which caused the sentence of banishment against Williams were: first, his violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent; and second, his vehement opposition to the Oath of Fidelity. The sentence was however hastened by the course of Williams in inducing the Salem church to join with him in remonstrating against the action of the magistrates, and in afterwards renouncing communion with it.<sup>3</sup>

But what at once arrests attention in these two statements is, that they both agree in regarding as entirely subordinate that opinion of Williams respecting the province of the Civil Magistrate which has been so frequently represented as the chief ground of difference between him and the Massachusetts Colony. If we had simply Cotton's statement, there might be some grounds for suspecting that his account of the proceedings, like the account which he gives in a subsequent passage in this Reply, of his connection with the Antinomians, was not quite ingenuous, but the fact of chief importance is that Williams himself, while enumerating, among the four causes of his banishment, his opinion respecting the power of the Civil Magistrate, yet nowhere, throughout the whole course of this discussion, lays any special emphasis upon it. It is certainly surprising, if this opinion were, as has been asserted, the real ground of all these proceedings, that he himself should here have claimed for it such an entirely subordinate importance.

With such substantial agreement between the two most important witnesses there seems no longer any room for controversy respecting the banishment of Williams. The question has been involved in difficulty by attaching an undue

<sup>3</sup> Cotton's *Answer*, pp. 27-29.

significance to the statement made by Winthrop respecting the action of the Court in July, 1635. In the charges presented at that time there is no allusion either to the Patent or to the Oath, an omission which can as little be reconciled with the statement of Williams as with that of Cotton, unless we suppose that the final step was based not on those charges simply, but on the whole antecedent action of the Court, an inference which the phraseology of the decree of banishment fully justifies.

The explanation of the proceedings against Williams, presented in this discussion, receives additional support from the unprejudiced testimony of Edward Winslow, who in reply to a statement of Gorton in *Simplicities Defence* that Williams had been banished "for dissenting in some points about church government," says: "I know that Mr. *Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times *the unlawfulness of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c., would not allow the *Colours of our Nation*, denied the *lawfulness of a publique oath as being needlesse to the Saints*, and a *prophaneation of Gods name to tender it to the wicked*, &c. And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God calls mee at this time to take off these aspersions."<sup>4</sup>

That the grounds assigned by the Massachusetts magistrates, for their proceedings against Williams were not however the real grounds has been frequently asserted, and even in the very year in which Williams published his Answer to Cotton's Letter, a leading Presbyterian writer alleged the treatment of Williams and the Antinomians as instances of

<sup>4</sup> *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, by Edward Winslow. London, 1646. pp. 65-66.

persecution for opinion's sake, under the pretext of preserving the public peace.<sup>5</sup> But even could it be proved that Williams had rendered himself obnoxious by his opinions, rather than by his disorderly expression of them, there would still be no reason whatever to suppose that the opinions which rendered him thus obnoxious were connected, to any considerable extent, with his views respecting religious toleration. The unmistakable tone of this whole discussion shows that his rigid principle of Separation was what made him suspected and disliked. Were it then required to go back of the reasons publicly assigned to discover a deeper motive for the treatment which he received, this attitude, maintained from first to last, would furnish the real explanation.

Besides illustrating with so much clearness the career of Roger Williams, this Reply of Cotton discusses a most perplexing chapter of his own history, in the vindication which he essays of his conduct during the Antinomian controversy. It also throws much light upon his personal relations with the leading men among the English puritans, and by the freedom of its strictures provoked from Bradford a rejoinder which sets in clear relief the position of the Semi-separatist church at Plymouth. A paragraph at the beginning enables us to assign with certainty to the pen of Williams the anonymous *Queries* which were published in the same year with his Answer; and the account of the origin of the name Puritan will attract the notice of the curious reader.<sup>6</sup> The conflicting statements respecting the date of the decree of banishment pronounced against Williams are fully discussed in the Appendix.

<sup>5</sup> *Antapologia*, by Thomas Edwards.—London, 1644, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> In the note on this passage, (see page 119, note 88,) I ventured, on the au-

thority of Bayle, to correct Cotton for calling Sanders a Jesuit, but I have since observed that Ellis does the same. See Ellis's *Letters*, 2d Series, 111, 92.

That the views expressed in the foregoing pages do not in the least affect the fame of Roger Williams as an asserter of the Rights of Conscience need scarcely be observed. Like every great leader of opinion he reached by degrees his own conclusions. It does not detract from his real merit to suppose that his exile was a powerful means of modifying his relative estimate of truths. How far, indeed, the minister of Salem cherished, in his own mind, those distinctive principles the subsequent avowal of which shed such enduring lustre upon the founder of Providence, cannot be determined, but that he did not make them prominent in his controversy with the Massachusetts Colony may be fairly inferred from the tenor of the following discussion. Nor is this inference without support from another and wholly independent source. No one can suppose that Thomas Lechford was ignorant of the facts, or that he had any motive for suppressing them. On the contrary it would have exactly fallen in with the design of the *Plain Dealing*, to give due credit to an advocate of toleration, yet it is a significant circumstance that Lechford, while alluding to those views of Williams respecting the Christian ministry, which are so sharply commented upon in this Reply, does not connect his name with any assertion of Religious Liberty.

J. L. D.

PROVIDENCE, March, 1867.



# A R E P L Y T O

Mr. VVILLIAMS his

EXAMINATION;

And Answer of the Letters sent to  
him by JOHN COTTON.



Such a Letter to such a purpose, I doe remember I wrote unto Mr. *Williams* about halfe a score yeares agoe. But whether this printed Letter be a true Copie thereof, or no, I doe not know; for the Letter being sent so long since, and no Copie of it (that I can finde) reserved by me; I can own it no further then I finde the matter and style, expressing the judgement which I then had of his cause of Separation, and the affection I bare unto his person. And for ought I see, the Letter doth not unfitly expresse both.

But how it came to be put in print, I cannot imagine. Sure I am it was without my privitie: and when I heard of it, it was to me unwelcome Newes, as knowing the truth, and weight of *Plinies* speech, *Aliud est scribere uni, aliud omnibus*. There be who thinke it was published by Mr. *Williams* himselfe, or by some of his friends, who had the Copie from him. Which latter might be the more probable, because himselfe denieth the publishing of it: and it sticketh

in my mind that I received many yeares agoe, a refutation of it (in a brotherly and ingenuous way) from a stranger to me, but one (as I heare) well affected to him, Mr. *Sabine Staresmore*.<sup>1</sup> To whom I had long agoe returned an Answer, but that he did [2] not direct me where my Letter might find him. But I doe not suspect Mr. *Staresmore*, nor Mr. *Williams* himselfe to have published it; but rather some other (unadvised) Christian, who (having gotten a copie of the Letter, tooke more libertie, then God alloweth, to draw forth a private Admonition to publick notice in a disorderly way.

But howsoever it was, upon the publishing of this Letter, Mr. *Williams* hath taken occasion (as is observed by some who are acquainted with the Spirit of the man) first to rise up against me (the meanest of many) in the examining and refuting of that Letter: And then (as if one *Mordecai* were too small a morsell) to stand forth against all the Churches, and Elders in *New-England*, in his *Bloudy Tenent*: And then (as if *New-England* were but an handfull) from thence to rise up against the choicest Ornaments of two populous Nations, *England* and *Scotland*, the reverend Assembly of Divines, together with the reverend Brethren of the Apology: and above them all to addresse himselfe (according to his high thoughts) to propound Quæries of high concernment (as he calleth them) to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament. So a Bird of prey, affecting to soare aloft, getteth first upon the top of a molehill, and from thence taketh his rise from Pale to Tree, till he have surmounted the highest Mountaines.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Bradford has preserved in his History, pp. 39, 40, an interesting letter of Staresmore, dated Sept. 4, 1618, "From my chamber in Wodestreete Compter," a prison in which he was

then confined. He was a friend of Cushman and Carver, and was associated with Henry Jacob in founding the Independent Church in London, in 1616. Neal's Puritans, vol. 1, page 476.



In this apprehension of him they are the more confirmed, as having discerned the like frame of Spirit in his former walking amongst us. Time was, when of all Christian Churches, the Churches of *New-England* were accounted, and professed by him, to be the most pure: and of all the Churches in *New-England*, *Salem* (where himselfe was Teacher) to be the most pure. But when the Churches of *New-England* tooke just offence at sundry of his proceedings, he first renounced communion with them all: and because the Church of *Salem* refused to joyne with him in such a groundlesse Censure, he then renounced communion with *Salem* also. And then fell off from his Ministry, and then from all Church-fellowship, and then from his Baptisme, (and was himselfe baptized againe) and then from the Lords Supper, and from all Ordinances of Christ dispensed in any Church-way, till God shall stirre up himselfe, or some other new Apostles to recover, and restore all the Ordinances, and Churches of Christ out of the ruines of Antichristian Apostasie.

3] But for mine own part, whatsoever thoughts, others (who seeme to know him well) have conceived of his Spirit, and course in these things: yet I choose rather to leave all Judgement of him, to Him, who seeth, and searcheth the heart, and reines, and will one day bring every secret thing, yea the very thoughts, and intents of the sonnes of men, unto righteous Judgement.

Neverthelesse, seeing the Tree is knowne by his fruits, I doe rather apprehend, that he knowing the Spirit breatheth where he pleaseth, and conceiving himselfe to have received a clearer illumination and apprehension of the estate of Christs Kingdome, and of the purity of holy Communion, then all Christendome (yea even Christendome it selfe is an unfavoury word to him) he therefore taketh it to be his duty, to give

publique advertisement, and admonition to all men, whether of meaner note, (such as my selfe) or of more publique note, and place, of the corruptions of Religion, which himselve observeth in their judgement, and practice. Neither would I deny, *but that* (to use his own words) *God sometimes stirreth up one Elijah against eight hundred of Baals Priests, one Micaiah against foure hundred of Ababs Prophets; one Athanasius against many hundreths of Arrian Bishops; one John Hus against the whole Councell of Constance; Luther and the two witnesse against many thousands, &c.* And therefore I durst not neglect, much lesse despise any advertisement from him alone against so many; provided that the word of the Lord be found in his mouth, or pen. I come therefore to consider, and weigh what he saith to my selfe, without prejudice against him, and (I hope) without partiality to my selfe.

In his Epistle to the Reader, before his Answer to my Letter, he utterly misconstrueth the ground and scope, whether of this Letter, or of any other Letters of mine to him, *As if I wrote upon occasion of the grieve, which some friends conceived, That such an one as himselve (publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved) should be exposed to the mercy of an howling Wildernesse, in frost and snow, &c.* And that my intent in writing was, to take off the edge of Censure from my selfe, by professing in speech, and writing, *That I was no procurer of his sorrowes, &c.* In which few lines, foure things present themselves, which if they be cleared, may cleare both his mistake of himselve, and his cause, and together therewith the innocency of others.

1. When he speaketh of himselve as one publickly acknowledged, [4] to be godly and dearely beloved, I did never perceive just ground for such publick acknowledgement. For before my coming into *New-England*, the godly-wise, and

vigilant Ruling-Elder of *Plymouth* (aged M<sup>r</sup>. *Bruister*) had warned the whole Church of the danger of his spirit, which moved the better part of the Church, to be glad of his removall from them into the Bay. And in the Bay not long before my coming, he began to oppose the Kings Patent with much vehemency, (as he had done at *Plymouth* before;) which made the Magistrates to feare, they should have more to doe with him, then with a man publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearly beloved.

Soone after, when upon hearing of some Episcopall, and malignant practises against the Countrey, the Magistrates, and whole generall Court thought meet to take a tryall of the fidelity of the people (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie, That in case any should refuse, they might not betrust them with place of publick Command; He vehemently withstood it, partly because it was Christs Prerogative to have his Office established by Oath; partly, because an Oath was a part of Gods worship, and many of the people being carnall (as he conceived) it was not meet to put upon them an Oath, which was an act of Gods worship. Upon such, and the like disturbances to the Civill Peace (for upon this sundry refused the Oath, and upon their refusall the Magistrates could not discern how the people stood affected to the publick Safety) therefore, both the Magistrates, and sundry Elders (though I doe not remember my selfe to be one) advised the Church of *Salem*, not to proceed to choose him (as they were then about to doe) unto office in the Church. Yea and in *Salem* (though many of the Members were taken with him) some judicious amongst them told me, they could not choose him to office, because they found him to be (contrary to the Apostles rule) *αὐθαδής*, selfe-pleasing, selfe-full, or (as it is transla-

ted) selfe-willed, *Tit.* 1. 7. Neverthelesse, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after the Church of *Salem* made suit to the Court, for a parcell of Land, which lay commodious for them: But the Court delayed to grant their request, because the Church had refused to hearken to their motion, in forbearing the choice of M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*. Which so much incensed M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, that he caused [5] the Church to joyne with him, in writing Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof any of the Magistrates were members, to admonish their Magistrates of their breach of the rule of Justice, in not granting their Petition. Which following upon all the former disturbances raised by M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, it still aggravated the former jealousies, which generally, the judicious sort of Christians had conceived of his selfe-conceited, and unquiet, and unlambelike frame of his Spirit: So that from first to last of my knowledge of him here, I cannot see, nor say, what ground he had of such a Testimony, as he giveth of himselfe, as of one *publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved.*

2. *When he maketh it an occasion of my excuse of my selfe, (from having an hand in his sufferings) that some friends were much grieved that such an one should be exposed to such sufferings.*

I do beleieve indeed, that not some friends onely, but many were grieved at the unmoveable stiffnesse, and headinesse of his Spirit, that exposed him to such sufferings.

*But he doth not well to say, that some friends were grieved, that one so publickly acknowledged, should be exposed to such sufferings; thereby to intimate as if his sufferings were greater then his deservings. For neither might such friends be truly called his friends; nor was their judgement of any weight in his cause. For they cleaved to him, and his cause, not*

out of judicious charity, but out of an itching levity, taken with every wind of new Doctrine: which soone after appeared. For within a short time, when his new Notions grew stale to them, they separated from him, (as he from them) and began to listen after a more prodigious Minter of exorbitant novelties, (the very dregs of Familisme) held forth by one M<sup>r</sup>. *Gorton*. *Gorton* at first arrived in our Bay, and continued a while in our Towne, till a reverend Minister in *London*, (M<sup>r</sup>. *Walker*)<sup>2</sup> sent over Directions to some friends, to demand an 100.<sup>li</sup> debt of him, which he having borrowed of a Citizen, the Citizen bequeathed it to some good use, whereof M<sup>r</sup>. *Walker* was called to some Trust. But then M<sup>r</sup>. *Gorton* departed out of this Jurisdiction to *Plymouth*: and there beginning to spread some of his Opinions, to the disturbance of the Church, and fearing disturbance to himselfe, he came to *Rhode-Island*; and there raising some seditious disturbance against the Magistrates, he met with publick correction. From thence [6] therefore he went to *Providence*, the place where M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, (and those some friends he spake of) sat downe. But those friends of M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* were soone taken with that greater Light, which they conceived was held forth by M<sup>r</sup>. *Gorton*.

What kind of light that was came to our view upon this occasion: One or two of the *Indian-Sagamores*, who lived neare *Providence*, came over into the Bay, to offer the subjection of themselves, and their people, to the Government of the *English*, hoping by this meanes to avoyde the oppression of the *Narbagansets* (their potent Neighbours) as also of

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. George Walker, for nearly forty years Rector of St. John, the Evangelist, in Watling-street, and a member of the Westminster Assembly. The biographer of Gorton questions the above statement, as repeated by Hubbard and

Cotton Mather, apparently not aware that they both derived it from this nearly contemporaneous account. See *Life of Gorton*, by J. M. Mackie, in Sparks's *American Biography*, Second Series, vol. 5, page 324.

Mr. Gortons company, who took their lands from them. Afterwards those *Indians* complaining to our Magistrates of some further injury done to them by Mr. Gortons company; our Court sent over to Mr. Gortons company, requiring some of them to come over, and shew what right they had to those lands, which they had taken from the *Indians*, their Subjects. He and his company in stead of coming, or sending any to cleare their Right, sent two Books written by some of themselves, full of sundry heresies, and malignant blasphemies, against *Christ*, against his Churches, Ministers, Sacraments, Censures, and Magistrates: yet withall offered that if this Court would send their Agents over unto them, they would cleare their Right to the Land, which they took from the *Indians*. The Court therefore sent over some, with Commission to Treat with them; and because Gortons company had threatened the former Messengers with the offer of some violence, they therefore sent as many armed men with these, as might secure their Agents from injury: And in case they refused to shew the right, and equitie of their cause, then to bring some of the principall of them, by strong hand, to cleare it heare. When hither they were come, (not to digresse to another Story) Gorton, desiring libertie to speak his minde freely, held it forth (as the minde of himselfe, and his company,) (whereof those of Mr. Williams his friends were no small part;) *That Christ was Incarnate when Adam was made after Gods Image: For God had but one Image, and that Image was Christs. And this making of Adam in that Image, was the exinanition of Christ.* But when it was objected, that that exinanition of Christ was unto life in *Adam*, but Christ was to suffer exinanition unto death: He answered; *That Christ dyed when the Image of God dyed: and the Image of God dyed in Adams fall.*

7] But when it was further objected, That Christs death was the Price and Purchase of our Redemption; but the fall of *Adam* was not the Price of our Redemption, but the cause of our condemnation. He stopped, and would neither proceed to cleare his minde further, nor by any meanes be perswaded to revoke that hellish blasphemy. These, and many such like Tenents were vented by him, and his company: and this company was made up of those friends of Mr. *Williams*, who (as he saith) were grieved at his expofall to the mercy of the Wildernesse. Which I thought meet to declare, lest any should thinke that his sufferings (considering the causes of them) were grievous or offensive to godly mindes.

Where by the way, a sincere-hearted humble Christian may easily discern the vast difference between the spirit of Mr. *Williams*, and of *John* the Apostle, in relating their sufferings by way of Banishment: *John* was a beloved Disciple, yea (by way of eminency) the Disciple whom Jesus loved: and He, for the testimony of Jesus, was banished by the bloody Emperour *Domitian*, into the Isle of *Patmos*, a desolate Wildernesse, destitute (for the most part) of Inhabitants: yet he maketh no expresse mention of his Banishment, nor of the howling Wildernesse, nor of frost, and snow, and such winter miseries: But (saith he) *I was in the Isle of Patmos for the Testimony of Jesus*. But Mr. *Williams* being called by a weak man beloved in Christ, he aggravateth the banishment of such an one as himselfe, by all the sad exaggerations, which wit and words could well paint it out withall; to wit, *That he was, onely for the holy Truth of Christ Jesus, denied the common ayre to breath in, and a civill cohabitation upon the same common earth, yea and without mercy, and humane compassion exposed to winter miseries in an howling Wildernesse, in frost, and snow, and that amongst Barbarians*. So deeply

affected the sonnes of men can be in describing their own sufferings for themselves, and their own wayes, above what the children of God be in their farre greater sufferings for the Testimony of Jesus.

3. What causes moved the Magistrates so to proceed against him at that time, is fully declared by another faithfull and diligent hand, in another Treatise of that matter.<sup>3</sup>

But whereas he saith, *He was exposed to the mercies of an howling Wildernesse in frost and snow, &c.*

The truth is, the Sentence of his Banishment out of the Patent [8] was pronounced against him in the Court before winter; and respite was given him to tarry certain weeks (six or more) to prepare for his journey.<sup>4</sup>

In the meane time, some of his friends went to the place appointed by himselfe before hand, to make provision of housing, and other necessities for him against his coming; otherwise he might have chosen to have gone either Southward to his acquaintance at *Plymouth*, or Eastward to *Pascatogue*, or *Aganimiticus*. And then the wildernesse had been as no wildernesse, (at least, no howling wildernesse) where men sit downe under warme and dry Roofes, sheltred from the annoyance of frost, and snow, and other winter hardships.

4. When he saith, *That my selfe profest in speech and writing, that I was no procurer of his sorrowes.* I doe not beleieve that I made any such profession at all, either in speech, or writing. For it was my serious intendment, (if it had been

<sup>3</sup> On page 26 Cotton refers again to this Treatise, "penned by a reverend faithful Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at Rockbury.)" This was the Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, but no mention of such a treatise is made by any of his biographers. For further discussion of this, see p. 26, note 9.

<sup>4</sup> To appreciate the force of this reply it must be borne in mind that the Sentence of Banishment was not pronounced November 3, 1635, as stated by all the biographers of Williams, and by Arnold, *Hist. R. I.*, vol. 1, p. 37, but September 3. See, after, p. 30, note 13. See also *Mass. Col. Records*, 1, 160.



the will of God to breath in such weake meanes for such an end) to have procured his unfained godly sorrow for his Errours in Judgement, and for his offensive disturbances of Churches, and Common-wealth. But this is that which I have professed, That I had no hand in procuring, or soliciting the Sentence of his Banishment. And that not for the cause, which he noteth in his margin, as if I had some reluctancy in my selfe, concerning the way of Persecution.

For 1. I did never doubt, that the way of persecution, (truly so called) that is, the affliction of others for righteousnesse sake, was utterly unlawfull.

2. I did never beleeve, that the sentence passed against him was an act of Persecution.

3. Nor did I ever see cause to doubt, but that in some cases, (such as this of his was,) Banishment is a lawfull, and just punishment: if it be in proper speech a punishment at all in such a Countrey as this is, where the Jurisdiction (whence a man is banished) is but small, and the Countrey round about it, large, and fruitfull: where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant, and profitable seats, then he leaveth behinde him. In which respect, Banishment in this Countrey, is not counted so much a confinement, as an enlargement, where a man doth not so much loose civill comforts, as change them. And as for spirituall liberties, (liberty [9] of Church Ordinances) they were a burden and bondage to his spirit here: And therefore he cast them off, before they left him; neither doth he to this day, look at it as a way of God, for any Christian man to look after the Ordinances of God in a Church-estate at all; As conceiving that the Apostasie of Antichrist hath so farre corrupted all, that there can be no recovery out of that Apostasie, till Christ shall send forth new Apostles to plant Churches anew.

But as for the true cause why I medled not in his civill Censure, it was, chiefly because Civill Censures belong unto another Kingdome, then that which we are called to administer: (Civill Censures are not the weapons of our warfare :) and partly also because I was carried (as still I am) with a compassion of his Person, and likewise of his wife, (a woman as then, of a meek and modest spirit) who a long time suffered in spirit, (as I was informed) for his offensive course: which occasioned him for a season to withdraw communion in spirituall duties, even from her also, till at length he drew her to partake with him in the error of his way.

But Mr. *Williams* affirmeth, *That in Letters past between him, and me, he proved, and exprest, that if he had perished in that sorrowfull winters flight, onely the blood of Christ could have washed me from the guilt of his.*

*Ans.* That he did expresse such a thing in some Letters to me, as I doe not remember it, so neither will I deny it: but that he proved it, I may as safely deny it, as he boldly affirme it. Could he then have given any such proofes, doubtlesse he would not have concealed them now, when he undertaketh to cleare to the world the pretended innocency of himselfe, and the supposed iniquitie of his supposed Persecutors. How precious the blood of Christ is to me, and how needfull (I blesse the Lord) my soule knoweth: but that I needed it to wash away the guilt of any injurious proceedings against the blood of Mr. *Williams*, (I speake it in holy confidence) I never discerned it to this day. The proofes which he alledgeth in the sequell for my hand in his Banishment, I shall (God willing) cleare them anon in due place. Meane while, what answers I made to him concerning the same in other Letters, he wisely concealeth: but contenteth himselfe to tell us, that my finall Answer was; *That had he perished*

*in his flight, his blood had been upon [10] his own head: It was his sinne to procure it, and his sorrow to suffer it.*

If this was my finall Answer, it seemeth I gave him other former Answers: what they were I have now forgotten; but I suppose, had they been insufficient, or impertinent, I should have heard of them.

But what is amisse in this finall Answer? The margent noteth it, "*as an unmercifull speech, of a mercifull man.*"

But when it shall please the Father of mercies to soften the heart of M<sup>r</sup>. Williams, and to give him an heart, and eare to hearken unto the wholesome Counsell of his true friends, he will at length see the speech was truly mercifull, as well as the man that spake it. *When a Fountaine is opened to Hierusalem for sinne, and for uncleannesse*, the Prophets who have deceived the people shall at length see, and acknowledge their errour, and being demanded the cause of the wounds in their hands, They shall answer (each of them for himselfe) *thus was I wounded in the house of my Friends*, Zach. 13. 1. with verses 4, 5, 6. An heart softened with the Blood of Christ, will judge the wounds of his friends faithfull, *Prov.* 27. 6. I meane, such reproofes for sinne, which though they may seeme to wound, yet wound to heale. *David* thought such smiting to be a kindnesse, yea an excellent Oyle, which doth not breake the head, but heale the heart, *Psal.* 141. 5.

There is one thing more in his Epistle to the Reader, which calleth for Answer:

*It cannot now (saith he) be justly offensive, that finding this Letter publick, (by whose procurement I know not) I now present to publick view my formerly intended Answer.*

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* It had not been offensive to me, that he did present his Answer to publick view, if he found my Letter publick, without his own, or his friends procurement: especially

if his Answer had been returned in words of truth, and faithfulness. Which how farre they fall short of, I hope (by the help of Christ) will appeare in the sequell.

Meanewhile, I feare it is justly offensive to the Spirit of Grace, and Love, That whereas he judged me to allow my selfe, and others, to rest securely in the Doctrine, and Practise of bloody Persecution, that all this while (even for the space of nine or ten yeares) he suffered me to sleep so long so quietly under the guilt of such a [11] crying sinne. Nay, it may seeme by his own words, if he had not found my Letter publick, it may be doubted whether ever I should have heard any further word from him hereabouts, at all. If I had been esteemed as a Brother, sinne should not have been suffered to lie so long upon a Brother, *Levit. 19. 17.* If an enemy, yet the very Oxe or Ass of an enemy, is not to be suffered to lye so long groveling under his burden, *Deut. 22. 4.*

But when he addeth in the next sentence; *That he rejoiceth in the goodnesse, and wisdom of him, who is the Father of lights, and mercies, in ordering the season of his own present opportunitie of Answer.*

I confesse we on the contrary have cause to admire, and adore the wisdom, and dreadfull Justice of God herein, That seeing Mr. *Williams* hath been now as a branch cut off from the Church of *Salem* these many yeares, he should bring forth no spirituall good fruits in due season: and that which he bringeth forth now at the last is bitter, and wild fruit: and that in such a season, when the Spirit of Error is let loose to deceive so many thousand foules of our English Nation: So that now their hearts are become as Tinder, ready to catch and kindle at every sparke of false light. Even so, O Father, because thy good pleasure is such, to let loose this Spirit of Error in the mouth of this Backslider, in the very houre and

power of darknesse: for these are the dayes of vengeance; when the Antinomians deny the whole Law; the Anti-Sabbatarians deny the Morality of the fourth Commandement; the Papists deny the Negative part of the second Commandement. It is a wofull opportunitie that God hath left M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* to, now to step in, and deny the Affirmative part of it also, (as the Papists doe the Negative) and so He and the Papists to combine together to evacuate the whole second Commandement altogether. For, take away (as M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* doth) all Instituted worship of God, as Churches, Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons, Members, publick Ministry of the Word, Covenant, Seales of the Covenant, (Baptisme, and the Lords Supper) the Censures of the Church, and the like, what is then left of all the Institutions, and Ordinances of God, which the Lord established in the second Commandement, against the Institutions, Images, and Inventions of men in his worship? But it is an holy wisdom, and righteousness of the Lord, that he that refuseth the Communion with the Churches of the Saints, should [12] joyne in communion with the enemies of the Saints, even Anti-christians; and that in such a worke, as to blot out and extinguish that holy second Commandement of the Law: The violating whereof kindleth the jealousie of the most High: and the observation thereof would have opened a doore of mercy to a thousand Generations! It is no vaine word of our Saviour, *He that shall breake one of the least Commandements, and shall Teach men so to doe, he shall be called the least in the kingdome of Heaven.*

This advice would I shut up this Point withall, (if I had any hope of an open eare in him to heare it) he that separateth from all Churches, and all Ordinances, let him at last separate also from himselfe: and so he shall then be better

able to discern the way to returne againe unto holy Communion with the Lord, and his people.

Let me conclude this Preface with this Advertisement to the Reader, who may perhaps marvell, that I now (so much against my usuall custome) should lay open the nakednesse of another to publick view. I blesse the Lord, I am not ignorant, That love covereth a multitude of offences: and that the Disciples of Christ, when they are reviled are taught to Blesse. And therefore were the case meerely mine own, and all the reproaches and slanders cast upon my selfe, had terminated in my selfe, I should have been as a deafe man, and as a dumb man that openeth not his lips. But when through my fides, not onely so many Elders, and Churches in this Countrey, who had as much (or more) influence into his sufferings, as my selfe, (and yet none of us any further influence, then by private, and publick conviction of himselfe, and of the demerit of his way;) yea when Courts of Justice suffer for Justice sake: yea further, when the Truth and Righteousnesse of God also suffer for inflicting just recompence of reward upon the disturbers of Civill and sacred Truth, and Peace: and under pretence of maintaining Liberty of Conscience, Purity of Conscience is violated, and destroyed: In such a case as this, just it is, and equall, rather that the name of an evill-worker should justly suffer, then that the name of God called upon Judgement seats, upon the Churches of Christ, and upon the Ministers of the Gospel, should unjustly suffer for his sake.

MY Letter to M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, (which he undertaketh to Examine, and Answer) began (it seemeth) with this Compellation of him; *Beloved in Christ*. For I considered, he had been not onely a member, but an Officer of the Church at *Salem*: and though from thence he was then Excommunicate; yet I took the Apostles Commandement for a Rule, *Account him not as an enemy, but Admonish him as a Brother*, 2 Thes. 3. 14. If a Brother of the Church, (though cast out of the Church, yet not cast out of Christ) then in Christ, at least in judgement of charity. And if in Christ (though but in judgement of charity, yet) in charity to be Beloved.

*But* (saith M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*) *how can it be well-pleasing to Christ, that one beloved in Christ, should be so afflicted, and persecuted by himselfe, and others, (for such causes) as to be denyed the common ayre to breath in, and a civill cobabitation upon the same common earth, yea and also without mercy, and humane compassion, be exposed to winter miseries in an howling Wildernesse?*

*Ans<sup>w</sup>*. If M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* may be Judge in his own cause, himselfe hath been persecuted without mercy, and without humane compassion: And which the more concerneth my selfe to enquire into, he hath been so persecuted by me, and some others; but chiefly (it should seeme) by me; for I onely am charged herewith by name: and those others, who ever they were, are not so much as described, much lesse expressly named. But such Priests, and Persons, as be thus partiall in the Law, the Holy Ghost threatneth to make them base, and contemptible in the eyes of all the People, *Mal*. 2. 9. Which the Lord give him to foresee, and feare, that he may timely prevent such a Judgement.

But to weigh his words particularly: Persecution is the affliction of another for Righteousnesse sake. Now two things it will be requisite for M<sup>r</sup>. Williams to prove, to make good his charge. 1. That the cause for which he suffered, was a cause of Righteousnesse. 2. That he suffered this Persecution, which he complaineth of, by me. And to make this latter charge good in such manner as he layeth it upon me, it were further requisite that he should prove two things more. 1. That my selfe was the principall mover and actor 14] in this his Persecution, (for I onely am singled out by name;) 2. That this hath been evidenced to him by two, or three witnesses at least, if he account me for an Elder of a Church, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. But whether he account me for an Elder, or no Elder, (I claime no priviledge of Office;) yet I require attendance to an eternall Law of morall Righteousnesse; *One witnesse shall not rise up against a man for any Iniquity, or for any sinne: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall every word be established, Deut.* 15. 15. But on the contrary, if it doe appeare, that the cause for which he suffered was not for Righteousnesse sake: and that the affliction which he did suffer was not put upon him by me at all, much lesse in any eminent, and singular manner, then it will behoove M<sup>r</sup>. Williams in Conscience to understand, that himselfe is the Persecutor, as of other servants of God, so of my selfe especially. For it is a case judged by the Holy Ghost, that he who mocketh, or reproacheth any of the least of Christs little ones, for walking in his way, he is a Persecutor, *Gal.* 4. 29. It hath been the lot of the faithfull of old to be tryed by cruell mockings, *Heb.* 11. 36. If a man be publickly accused to the world as a Persecutor, in case the accusation be proved true, Persecution is a cruell, and crying sinne: but if it be not proved, nor true, the false



accufation is a grievous Persecution, even a cruell mocking. But I shall referre the tryall of his accufation to the place himfelfe appointed, where he giveth Instance of the caufe of his fufferings.

Meane while, let him fufpend his Marginall note, *That it is a monftrous Paradox, that Gods children fhould Persecute Gods children, and they that hope to live eternally with Chrift Iefus in Heaven, fhould not fuffer each other to live in this common ayre together.*

For though Gods children may not persecute Gods children, nor wicked men neither, for well-doing: yet if the children of God be found to walke in the way of the wicked, their finne is the greater, becaufe they finne againft greater light, and grace: and their Brethren (in Place) may juftly afflict them for it: to deprive them, in fome cafes, not onely of the common ayre of the Countrey by banifhment, but even of the common ayre of the world by death: & yet hope to live eternally with them in the Heavens with Chrift Iefus. Yea what if a child of God were infected with a plague-fore, or fome other contagious difeafe, may not their Brethren exclude [15] them the common ayre, both of their religious, and Civill Affemblies, and yet hope to live eternally with them in the Heavens? Truely there be fome unfound, and corrupt opinions, and praftifes, (and that of him too) which are more infectious, and contagious, then any plague-fore.

That other Marginall note of his, (*What Chrift Persecute Chrift in New-England?*) calleth for another Answer.

Chrift doth not persecute Chrift in *New-England*: For Chrift doth not persecute any at all, (to fpeake in the proper fence of Persecution;) much leffe doth Chrift persecute Chrift. For though Chrift may and doth afflict his own members; yet he doth not afflict (much leffe persecute) Chrift in them,

but that which is left of old *Adam* in them, or that which is found of the seed of the Serpent in them. For even Satan may fill the heart of Church-members, *Acts* 5. 3. Yea breathe and act in an Elect Apostle, *Mat.* 16. 22, 23 And then the Lord Jesus may afflict in his members, that which he seeth in them not of his own.

But he proceeds, and asks further, (*Since M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton expecteth farre greater light then yet shineth*) whether upon the same grounds, and practice, if Christ Jesus in any of his servants shall be pleased to hold forth a further light, shall he himselfe find the mercy, and humanitie of a Civill, and temporall life, and being with them?

*Ans.* The greatest light that I expect is not above the Word, much lesse against it: nor is it destructive to the Church, and Ordinances of Christ, established according to the Word, but instructive of them in the way of the word. If therefore Christ Jesus shall come in any of his servants, holding forth a further light to us, we trust, that he that offereth us light, will give us (as hitherto he hath done) eyes to see it, and hearts to follow it. Light is discernable (through the Grace of the Father of Lights) by the children of light: The Spirit of the Prophets is discerned, and judged by the Prophets: Wisdome is justified of her Children: When Judgement returneth to Righteousnesse, all the upright in heart shall follow it: The Sheep of Christ that see his face, will see his Light, and heare his voyce: his Spirit of Truth will lead them into all truth. And yet because we all know in part, and Prophecy in part, we are taught of God in meeknesse of wisdome to instruct one another, (till light of Instruction be obstinately rejected;) and to suffer [16] one another in differences of weaknesse, till weaknesse prove wilfulnesse, and will not suffer Truth to live in Peace.

But what is all this to M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*? Hath he therefore not found the mercy, and humanity of Civill, and temporall life, and being amongst us, because Christ Jesus held forth by him a further light unto us?

So it should seeme, or else his Quære is nothing to the purpose; surely if it be a further light which is held forth by him, it is such a transcendent light, as putteth out all other lights in the world besides: as (they say) *Majus lumen extinguit minus*. The Churches of Christ have been wont to be counted lights, the Ministry, lights, the Sacraments, and Censures, lights. But this new light held forth by M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, hath put out all these lights, yea and all possibilitie of their shining forth againe, till the Restitution of new Apostles. And yet if he had held forth any light from the word of light to manifest this great new light to us, truly I hope the Lord would give us hearts, not to shut our eyes against the light, but to follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and follow the light of his word whithersoever it leadeth us. Christian Magistrates, they also have been wonted to be counted the light of *Israel*: and Oaths likewise have been thought to give light to discerne the end of all Controversies: But by this new light, we may not accept from the Patents of Princes any light or direction where to sit downe, with their warrant, and leave, in forreine Plantations: Neither may we make use of the light of Oaths between Magistrates, and people, to discerne of the fidelity and constancy of the one to the other in times of danger. Where then shall his Marginall Note appeare?

M<sup>r</sup>. *Cotton* (saith he) *expecting more light, must (according to his way of Persecution) Persecute Christ Jesus, if he bring it.*

Doth M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* hold me so farre forsaken of common sense, as to frustrate, and destroy mine own expectations? If

I expect more light, must I (according to mine own way) needs Persecute him that brings it, yea persecute Christ himselfe, if he bring it? But thus when a mans head runneth round, he thinketh all the House runneth round about him.

But what is my way of Persecution, according to which, I expecting more light, must needs persecute him that brings it? It is but a few days agoe, since there came to my hand a book, published [17] (as is said) by M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, and entituled, *The Bloudy Tenent*. In which M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* (without my privity) published a private Letter of mine, and therewith a Confutation of it, touching Persecution for cause of Conscience. In my stating of that Question, (which he relateth in the 7<sup>th</sup> Page of that Book) he declareth my Judgement to be so farre from persecuting any for cause of Conscience, that he layeth it downe for my first Conclusion; *That it is not lawfull to persecute any for Conscience sake rightly informed [that is to say, bringing more, and true light.]*

2. *For an erroneous and blind Conscience, (even in fundamentall, and weighty Points) it is not lawfull to persecute any, till after Admonition once or twice, according to the Apostles direction, Tit. 3. 10, 11. That so such a man being convinced of the dangerous error of his way; if he still persist (being condemned of himselfe, ver. 11.) it may appeare, he is not persecuted for Cause of Conscience, but for sinning against his own Conscience.*

3. *In things of lesse moment, whether Points of Doctrine or worship, if a man hold them forth in a spirit of Christian meeknesse and love, (though with zeale and constancy) he is not to be persecuted, but tolerated, till God may be pleased to manifest his Truth to him, Phil. 3. 17. Rom. 14. 11, 12, 13, 14.*

4. *But if a man hold forth or professe any error, or false way, with a boysterous, and arrogant spirit, to the disturbance of Civill*

*Peace, he may justly be punished according to the measure of the disturbance caused by him.*

This is that way of Persecution which Mr. *Williams* expresseth to be mine. In all which I durst appeale to Mr. *Williams* his own Conscience, (were it not Leavened with over-deepe prejudice) whether in all this way there be any crevise opening a doore for the Persecution of Christ himselfe bringing further light?

Let no man take it amisse, that (in the Parenthesis) I intimate, the Conscience of Mr. *Williams* in this case to be leavened with overmuch prejudice. For if extreme prejudice were not predominant in him in this case, I should stand amazed how a man of understanding could out of such Conclusions make up this Inference, which he gives in the Title of the Chapt. pag. 7. *That I doe professedly maintaine Persecution for Cause of Conscience.* I that doe expressly, professedly deny Persecution of any, even of Hereticks, unlesse it be 18] when they come to persist in heresie, after conviction, against conscience; how can I be said to maintaine Persecution for Cause of Conscience? But oh the wofull perverseness and blindness of a Conscience, when it is left of God, to be so farre transported with prejudice, as to judge a Cause of Conscience, and a cause against Conscience to be all one.

For the shutting up of his Chapter, he is pleased to Comment upon a phrase in my Letter, wherein I styled my selfe a man of uncircumcised lips. And he doth acknowledge it to be *an holy Character of an heavenly Spirit, to make an ingenuous, and true acknowledgement of an uncircumcised lip.* Yet (saith he) *that discerning Spirit, which God graciously vouchsafeth to them that tremble at his Word, shall finde, that not onely the will-worships of men may be painted, and varnished over with the glittering shew of Humilitie, Colos. 2. but even Gods dearest*

*servants (eminent for humility, and meeknesse) may yet be troubled with a swelling of spirituall pride, out of the very sence of their humilitie, &c. Humilitie is never in season to set up superstition, or persecute Gods children.*

*Answe.* I could intreat some or other of Mr. Williams his acquaintance (whose words may finde better acceptance with him, then mine doe) to perswade him, not to attribute too much to his own Spirit of discerning; which though he truly saith, God doth vouchsafe to them that tremble at his word: yet I never read, nor heard, that God did vouchsafe a Spirit of discerning to any that are so farre from trembling at the word, that they doe not vouchsafe to heare the word from the mouth of so many thousand faithfull Ministers of the Gospel. As for me, I desire not to neglect any word from the mouth of Mr. Williams, (upon what pretence soever spoken) that putteth me in minde of spirituall pride, arising out of the very sence of humilitie. Such smiting shall not breake my head.

But when he concludeth with this Aphorisme; *Humilitie is never in season to set up superstition, or to persecute Gods children.*

I desire it may be considered, what is Superstition? what is Persecution? and whether my Letter unto him tended to set up the one, or to set forward the other?

Superstition is properly *cultus supra statutum*, which I speake not from the Etymology of the word, (for I know Latinists doe otherwise [19] derive it) but from the nature of the thing. And what is Persecution? It hath been answered above, the affliction of any for their Righteousnesse sake. If it appeare in the sequele, that my Letter tended either to set up any worship of God, which he hath not appointed, or to afflict any for their Righteousnesse sake, then I will confesse

it tended to set up Superstition, and Persecution: And the humilitie which he acknowledgeth to be expressed in my Letter, I shall acknowledge to be out of season: Meane while, *Affirmanti incumbit Probatio.*<sup>5</sup>

## TO CHAP. II.

**H**is second Chapter is spent in answering to a double charge, which he saith, he observeth, I laid against him. Though in very Truth, I layd neither of them downe as charges against him, but as discharges to my selfe from expecting that *He should vouchsafe to hearken to my voyce, who had refused to hearken both to the voyce of the body of the whole Church of Salem (whereof he was a member) and to the voyces of so many Elders, and brethren of other Churches.*

But suppose I did charge him with a double sinne in refusing to hearken to this double voyce, (though I did not say it was a sinne:) how doth he discharge himselfe? *For neglect of the former, he excuseth himselfe by the charge of his Office, which lay upon him, on a Fast-day to discover to them eleven publick sinnes, as causes of the present, and publick calamities. Which most of the Church seemed at first to assent unto, untill afterwards, the greater part of the Church (whether for feare of Persecution, or otherwise) was swayed, and bowed to practise such things, which with sighes and groanes many of them mourned under.*

<sup>5</sup> The curious play upon words at the beginning of this paragraph is characteristic of the age. The common derivation of Superstition is from *superstes*. Compare Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 2,

28: Nam qui totos dies precabantur, et immolabant, ut sui sibi liberi superstites essent, superstitiosi sunt appellati: quod nomen postea latius patuit. Cotton, when at College, was a famous Latinist.

But will this indeed discharge an Elder of the Church before the Lord, from coming into the presence of the Church, when they send for him, because the greater part of them, *are bowed, and swayed for feare of Persecution, to slip, and slide, and to say and practise that, which with sighes and groanes they mourned under?* Why then, if the Wolfe come, and scatter the sheepe, and they slip out of the way, let the Shepherd fly, and leave them; that the word of the Lord Jesus might be fulfilled; *He that is an Hireling, and not the Shepheard, 20] whose own the sheepe are not, he seeth the Wolfe coming, and leaveth the sheepe, and fleeth, and the Wolfe catcheth them, and scattereth the sheepe, Job. 10. 12.*

Or will it goe for current Doctrine before the Lord, that if the greater part of a Church fall (through feare, or otherwise) into sinne, and such a sinne, which they mourne under with sighes, and groanes, and which in it selfe is not hainous, that then they doe *ipso facto*, cease to be a Church, and utterly to be cast out? Why then let the Covenant between the Lord and his Church be no more reputed any branch of the Covenant of Grace, but let it stand and fall as a Covenant of workes.

But surely if the greater part of the Church were gone astray, I should think it would well become the faithfulnessse of a Church-Elder, to hasten to them, (specially when he is lovingly and respectfully sent for) and to convince them of the errour of their way before the Lord, and to seek to bring them back againe to the Bishop and Shepherd of their soules. Sure I am, that in a case of greater defection of the Churches of *Galatia*, then Mr. Williams imagined was found in the Church of *Salem*. Paul did not reject them, but professed; *I desire (saith he) to be present with you now, and to change my voyce, for I stand in doubt of you, Gal. 4. 20.*

Mr. Williams acknowledgeth in the next Paragraph, *That the Church of Colosse might say to Archippus; Take heed to thy*



*Ministry, and that Archippus might negligently, and proudly refuse to hearken to them: but for his case, his faithfulness, and uprightness to God, and the soules of the people will witness for him, when his soule shall come to Hezekiahs case on his death-bed, and in the great day approaching.*

I do not know but that *Archippus* might as justly refuse to hearken to the Church of *Colosse*, as M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* to the Church of *Salem*. What though *Colosse* was more eminent in gifts than *Salem*, yet the mutuall power, and subjection of Pastor and people, dependeth not upon eminency of gifts, but upon the Institution of Christ, and their mutuall Covenant, and Relation. If it had been a negligent and proud part in *Archippus* (as M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* confesseth) to refuse to hearken to the lawfull voyce of the Church of *Colosse*, admonishing him of his slacknesse in his Ministry: I know not but it might be such a like part in M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* to refuse to hearken to the voyce of the Church of *Salem*, admonishing him to 21] take heed of deserting his Ministry. Whether is a greater sinne in a Minister, not to fulfill his Ministry, or to desert his Ministry? Neither doe I know but that *Archippus* might have pretended the like evasions with M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, if not fairer. For he might plead there were amongst them, such as spoyled them through Philosophy, and vaine deceit, after the Traditions of men, and Rudiments of the world, and not after Christ, (*Col.* 2. 8.) that beguiled them also in a voluntary humilitie, and worship of Angels, not holding the Head, (*ver.* 18, 19.) Yea so farre that themselves come to be dogmatized with the Traditions of men, *ver.* 20, 21, 22. And why might not then *Archippus* as justly refuse to heare the Church of *Colosse*, as M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* refuse to heare the Church of *Salem*?

Let not M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* please himselfe in suiting his faithfulness, and uprightness to *Hezekiahs* case. *Hezekiah* faith-

fully, and uprightly endeavoured, and (through grace) procured the reformation of the Apostate Church of *Hierusalem* in the dayes of his Father *Abaz*: But M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* in stead of reforming one Church, renounceth all.

*For his neglect of hearkening to the second voyce, the voyce and testimony of so many Elders, and Brethren of other Churches; He saith (because he truly esteemeth the Persons) he will not answer the Argument of numbers, and multitudes against one, as our men are wont to answer the Popish universalitie, that God stirreth up sometimes one Elijah against eight hundred of Baals Priests, &c. But this he saith that David himselfe, and the Princes of Israel, and 30000. of Israel carrying up the Arke, were not to be hearkened unto in their holy intentions of rejoycings, and triumphs, when the due order of the Lord was wanting to them. In which case one Scripture in the mouth of a Mechanick, is to be preferred before a whole Councell.*

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* I will not here observe (as M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* doth in a like case, in Chap. 38. of his *Bloudy Tenent*) his haft and light attention to the Scriptures which himselfe alledgeth. The Text speaketh but of 450. of *Baals* Priests, 1 *Kings* 18. 19. Now for him to multiply them to 800, is to fetch in also the Prophets of the Groves, (the Prophets of *Jeroboams* Calves) whom the Text expressely distinguisheth from the Prophets of *Baal*.

But to let that passe, as not materiall to the Argument, (no more then the misquotation, which he observeth of *Titus* for *Timothy*) [22] we will not reply as the Papists doe against single witnesses, let him call for fire from Heaven as *Elijah* did, and we will submit the testimonies of many to one single witness: No we call not for Miracles at his hand: but let him produce one testimony of holy Scripture (rightly understood, and applyed) against the advice, and voyce of those Elders, and Brethren, and then though he be but one (yea

though that one were but a Mechanick too) we shall gratifie his demand, and (by the Grace of Christ) be ready rather to hearken to him, then require that he should hearken to us.

Meanewhile, we answer him as the Apostle did to the *Corinthians*, (1 Cor. 14. 36.) *What, came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you onely?*

It is true, *David* and the Princes, and the 30000. of *Israel*, were not to be hearkened unto, nor followed in their disorderly carrying of the Arke; because the word of the Lord had given expresse order to the contrary, requiring that the *Kohabites* should beare the Arke upon their shoulders, and not touch it, least they dye, *Num.* 4. 15. Let him shew us the like order violated by us, and we shall freely excuse him (yea and justifie him) in not hearkening to us, nor following of us.

But suppose some one Prophet, or Brother of *Israel*, had discerned the disorder of *David*, and of the whole Congregation of the 30000. of *Israel*, and had therefore not onely refused to follow them, but had proceeded further (as many of Christs Disciples did with him, *Joh.* 6. 66.) to goe back from them with an utter Apostasie, and to walke no more with them, no not though they were willing to reforme their disorder, if any were made knowne to them? Would *Perez Vzzab* have justified that? Or did that disorder of *David*, and of that Congregation of *Israel*, dischurch them all from fellowship with God, or discharge their Brethren from having any fellowship with them, as with the Church of God?

## TO CHAP. III.

**H**IS third Chapter is taken up in answering to a Phrase in my Letter, in which I had said, *I endeavoured to shew him the sandinesse of those grounds, upon which he had banished himselfe from the fellowship of all the Churches in this Countrey.* 23] The summe of his Answer is, *That his grounds were the firme rocke of the Truth of Jesus, and that my endeavours to prove them sandy, are but the weake, and uncertain sand of mans Invention, which shall therefore perish, and burne like hay, or stubble; And the Rocky strength of his grounds shall appeare in the Lords season, and that my selfe also may yet confesse so much, as I have (since I came to New-England) confest the sandinesse of the grounds of many of my Practises in Old-England: and the rockinesse of their grounds that witnessed against me, and them: for Instance, that himselfe had discovered to me, and other servants of God, his grounds against the use of the Common Prayer Booke: which though they then seemed sandy to me, yet since I have acknowledged to be rocky, and have seene cause so to publish to the world in my Discourse to Mr. Ball,<sup>6</sup> against set formes of Prayer.*

For a reply, let me begin where he leaveth; How ready he is to build upon sandy grounds, may appeare by this very Passage, where he maintaineth his rockinesse. For here he

<sup>6</sup> The Rev. John Ball, of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, whose Treatise entitled a "Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modest Dispute touching the Unlawfulness of stinted Liturgy and set Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Assemblies," &c., was published in 1640. This work was in part an expansion of the "brief Discourse" to which Cotton replied, which was circulated in manu-

script, a common practice at that day. See Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2, 670. Fuller's *Worthies*, 2, 232. He also wrote against Can, of Amsterdamb. Cotton, at the close of his "Reasons for his Removal to New-England," requests that his "dear affection" may be presented to "Mr. Ball," but Dr. Young supposes that Thomas Ball is here intended. See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 443.

avoucheth, *I have seene cause to publish to the world, the rock-ness of his grounds in a Discourse to M<sup>r</sup>. Ball against set Formes of Prayer.*

What rocky ground doe you thinke this Assertion of his standeth upon? I know no other but this; He findeth such a Discourse published to the world: and he thence concludeth (for other Grounds he hath none) *that I published that Discourse, and that I saw cause to publish it*: both which hang upon that ground like ropes of sand. The truth is, I did not publish that Discourse to the world, much lesse did I see cause to publish it upon the Grounds he speaketh of. A brieve Discourse in defence of set formes of Prayer was penned by M<sup>r</sup>. Ball, much briefer then that which since is put forth in Print. That brieve Discourse a religious Knight<sup>7</sup> sent over, (whether to my selfe, or to a Gentleman of note then dwelling in my house, I remember not) but with desire to heare our judgement of it. At his request I drew up a short Answer, and sent one Copie of it to the Knight, and another to M<sup>r</sup>. Ball, divers yeares agoe. How it came (in proceffe of time) to be published to the world, or by whom, I doe not know. And yet M<sup>r</sup>. Williams doubteth not to affirme it, that *I published that Discourse to the world, and saw cause to doe it*. Rocky spirits can expresse all their conceits, in rocky firmesse, though upon sandy conjectures.

Besides, when he saith, *That himselfe discovered to me, and to other [24] servants of God, his grounds against our using of the Common Prayer; which then seemed sandy to us, but now in New-England, I have acknowledged to be rocky in my Discourse to M<sup>r</sup>. Ball.* I could have wished he had expressed, what grounds those were, which he discovered to us; For my selfe

<sup>7</sup> Probably Sir Henry Vane, the younger, whose relations with Cotton were always of the most intimate nature. Vane had returned to England in 1637.

I can call to minde no such matter, that ever I heard, or received from him, either by word, or writing, any solide grounds against that Practise. But this I am sure of, that the grounds of altering my judgement touching that practise, did chiefly stand upon the exposition of the second Commandement; which if I should say, I received from him, I should greatly feare my forehead were more rocky than his grounds were. I thinke it no disgrace to change either my judgement or practise upon better grounds then I formerly discerned. Nor would I thinke it a disgrace to learne any grounds of truth, and to profess that I had learned them from himselfe, if so I had done. But sure I am, it hath not been wont to be the manner of the servants of God to upbraid their Brethren, with their Retractions of their former Aberrations.

I have read of the Churches of *Judea*, that when they heard *Paul* now preached the Faith, which once he destroyed, they glorified God for him, (*Gal.* 1. 23, 24.) but I never read, that any of the Churches of Christ, or any sincere member of the Churches, did ever upbraid *Paul* for his former Persecution, or for his present change.

The other part of the Chapter, he spendeth in relating the grounds of the sentence of his Banishment, and in the avouchment of his confidence of the firmnesse of them.

The grounds of the sentence of his Banishment, some whereof *He saith I am pleased to discusse in the Letter, and others not to mention; He saith were rightly summed up by one of the Magistrates after his publick Tryall, and Answers.*

*Mr. Williams (jaied that publick Person) boldeth forth these foure particulars.*

1. *That we have not our Land by Patent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Patent.*

2. *That it is not lawfull to call a wicked Person to sweare, to pray, as being actions of Gods worship.*

25] 3. *That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish-Assemblies in England.*

4. *That the Civill Magistrates Power extends onely to the bodies, and goods, and outward state of men, &c.*

*These particulars he hopeth, that as he maintained the rockie strength of them to his own, and other Consciences satisfaction: So (through the Lords assistance,) he shall be ready not onely to be bound, and banished, but to dye also in New-England, as for most holy Truths of God in Christ Jesus.*<sup>8</sup>

It was not my intent in that Letter which he examineth, to discusse the Grounds of his Civill Banishment at all, neither did I discusse one or other of them. And it is a preposterous shifting of the State of the Question, to put it upon me to give account of the causes of his Banishment, who neither did banish him, nor provoked the Court to banish him out of the Countrey. The Magistrates and Deputies of the Common-wealth (who were then the Members of that Court) are all of them of age, and able themselves to give account of their own actions. To them or some of them he should

<sup>8</sup> According to Governor Winthrop, Williams was charged at the General Court held in July, 1635, with holding, 1: That the Magistrates ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace; 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, &c.; 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the Sacrament, nor after meat, &c. At the session of the Court in September, he was further charged with writing letters

against the magistrates, and with persuading his own church to renounce communion with the churches in the Bay. See Winthrop, vol. 1, pp. 162-171. But it is clear from the account above, in which Williams himself says, that the grounds of his banishment "were rightly summed up," as well as from the statement of Cotton, that the final proceedings were not based in those charges simply, but upon the whole antecedent action of the Court. This removes the apparent discrepancy between the statements of Winthrop and Cotton.

in reason have addrest himselfe for satisfaction in this case (if any were due) and not to me, who am as seldome present at any Civill Court, (if not more seldome) then any man of our calling in Towne or Countrey, where the Courts are kept. It were more then *Ægyptian* bondage to me, and more then Pharaonickall tyranny in him, to exact of me, an account of all the capitall, or notable sentences of Judgement, which passe in all the Civill Courts of Justice in the Countrey, unlesse I had a calling to sit amongst them.

But why did I then endeavour in my Letter to *shew him the sandinesse of those grounds, upon which he had banished himselfe, &c.* If I did not meane to declare, and discusse the causes of his Banishment?

He doth very well, and wisely to expresse the Grounds upon which I said he banished himselfe with an, &c. For he knows that if he had related my whole sentence in my own words, he had cut off himselfe from all opportunitie of pleasing with me the causes of his Civill Banishment.

My words are plaine, — *I endeavour to shew you the sandinesse of those grounds, upon which you have banished your selfe from the fellowship of all the Churches in these Countreyes.*

It is one thing to banish ones selfe (or to be banished) out of the [26] fellowship of all the Churches in the Countrey; another thing to banish ones selfe (or to be banished) out of the Countrey. There be at this day that banish (and separate) themselves from all the Churches in the Countrey, and yet are not banished out of the Countrey: and there be that are banished out of the Countrey, and yet are not banished out of the fellowship of all the Churches in the Countrey. Himselfe hath separated (and so banished himselfe) from the fellowship of all the Churches in the world: and yet he hath not banished himselfe out of the world.



But though it be impertinent to my Letter to discusse the grounds of his Civill Banishment: yet since he is pleased (by hook or crook) to draw it in, I referre the Reader for Answer to a full Treatise of that Argument, penned by a reverend faithfull Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at *Rocksbury*);<sup>9</sup> and withall as I have touched somewhat of it above in Answer to his Preface, so I shall speak a word or two more unto it here.

Whom that eminent Magistrate was, that so summed up the grounds of Mr. *Williams* his Banishment in those foure Particulars above mentioned, Mr. *Williams* doth wisely conceale his name, lest if he were named, he should be occasioned to beare witness against such fraudulent expression of the Particulars: whereof some were no causes of his Banishment at all, and such as were causes, were not delivered in such generall Tearmes. For *in universalibus latet Dolus*. It is evident the two latter causes which he giveth of his Ban-

<sup>9</sup> The precise language here used leaves no room for doubt that the apostle Eliot is the person to whom reference is made. Eliot was "Teacher" of the church of which Thomas Welde for some time was "Pastor." In the early New England churches the two offices were carefully distinguished. There exists no trace, that I have been able to discover, of any such "full Treatise" by Eliot of the grounds of Williams's banishment. It was not uncommon, at that period, for works to be circulated in manuscript, as in the case of Mr. Ball's Discourse, before referred to, but it is not easy to see why Cotton, in a book published in London, should "referre the Reader," to an unprinted treatise on this side the Atlantic.

It is a noteworthy fact that Eliot him-

self, a few years later, was called to account before the magistrates for consenting to the publication of a work which they found to be "full of seditious principles and notions in regard to all established governments in the Christian world." This work, "The Christian Commonwealth, or the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ," though not published till 1659, was sent over to England in manuscript nine or ten years before. Eliot holds that civil Rulers are "keepers of both Tables," and "are eminently concerned to maintain the purity of Religion, with all care and power." The book gave offence on account of certain passages "relating to kingly Government in England." This work is reprinted in *Mss. Hist. Soc. Col.*, 3d Series, vol. ix.

ishment, were no causes at all, as he expresseth them. There are many knowne to hold both these Opinions, *That it is not lawfull to beare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England, and that the Civill Magistrates power extendeth onely to the bodies, and goods, and outward estates of men:* and yet they are tolerated not onely to live in the Commonwealth, but also in the fellowship of the Churches.

The two former, though they be not so much noysed, yet there be many, if not most, that hold, *That we have not our Land, meerly by right of Patent from the King, but that the Natives are true owners of all that they possesse, or improve.* Neither doe I know any amongst us, that either then were, or now are of another minde.

And as for the other Point; *That it is not lawfull to call a wicked Person to sweare, or pray.*

27] Though that be not commonly held, yet it is knowne to be held of some, who yet are tolerated to enjoy both Civill, and Church-liberties amongst us.

To come therefore to Particulars: Two things there were, which (to my best observation, and remembrance) caused the Sentence of his Banishment: and two other fell in, that hastened it.

1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The peculiar views entertained by Williams respecting the Patent rights granted to the colonies by the English king were first expressed during his residence at Plymouth. He presented to Governor and Assistants of that Colony a treatise, in which according to Winthrop, he disputed "their right to the lands they possessed here, and concluded that, claiming by the king's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwise, ex-

cept they compounded with the natives." It would seem that this treatise, which, according to the account that Williams afterwards gave was only written for the private satisfaction of the governor and magistrates of Plymouth, was never printed, but after the return of Williams to Salem, in 1633, it was brought by some means to the notice of the Massachusetts authorities. At a meeting of the governor and assistants held at Boston, Dec.

By the Patent it is, that we received allowance from the King to depart his Kingdome, and to carry our goods with us, without offence to his Officers, and without paying custome to himselfe.

By the Patent, certain select men (as Magistrates, and Freemen) have power to make Lawes, and the Magistrates to execute Justice, and Judgement amongst the People, according to such Lawes.

By the Patent we have Power to erect such a Government of the Church, as is most agreeable to the Word, to the estate

27, 1633, the treatise was subjected to examination, and having taken the advice of some of the most judicious ministers, "who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption," the court gave order that the offender should be brought before them at their next meeting, to be censured. "There were," says Winthrop, "three passages chiefly whereat they were much offended: 1, for that he chargeth King James to have told a solemn public lie, because in his Patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered the land: 2, for that he chargeth him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian world: 3, for that he did personally apply to our present king, Charles, these three places in the Revelations, viz.: [these passages are not given.] Winthrop 1, 122.

Williams wrote a letter of explanation which was presented at the next meeting of the court, Jan. 24, 1634, "when," says Winthrop, "with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilton, and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book, (which, being written in very obscure

and implicative phrases, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found the matters not to be so evil as at first they seemed.— Whereupon they agreed, that, upon his retraction, etc., on taking an oath of allegiance to the king, etc., it should be passed over." Winthrop, 1, 123.

The next mention of Williams, in connection with the Patent, is under date of Nov. 27, 1634, when the assistants met at the governor's to advise about the defacing of the cross in the ensign at Salem. "It was likewise informed," says Winthrop, "that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promise to us, in teaching publicly against the king's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country &c, and for usual terming the churches of England anti-christian. We granted summons to him for his appearance at the next court." Winthrop, 1, 151.

Williams was also before the court April 30, and July 8, 1635, but on neither of these occasions was the question of the Patent agitated, nor is there any specific reference to it in the final sentence.

of the People, and to the gaining of Natives (in Gods time) first to Civility, and then to Christianity.

To this Authority established by this Patent, *English-men* doe readily submit themselves: and foraine Plantations (the *French*, the *Dutch*, and *Swedish*) doe willingly transact their Negotiations with us, as with a Colony established by the Royall Authority of the State of *England*.

This Patent, Mr. *Williams* publickly, and vehemently preached against, as containing matter of falshood, and injustice: Falshood in making the King the first Christian Prince who had discovered these parts: and injustice, in giving the Countrey to his *English* Subjects, which belonged to the Native *Indians*. This therefore he pressed upon the Magistrates and People, to be humbled for from time to time in dayes of solemne Humiliation, and to returne the Patent back againe to the King. It was answered to him, first, That it was neither the Kings intendement, nor the *English* Planters to take possession of the Countrey by murder of the Natives, or by robbery: but either to take possession of the voyd places of the Countrey by the Law of Nature, (for *Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti*;) or if we tooke any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchase, and free consent.

A little before our coming, God had by pestilence, and other contagious diseases, swept away many thousands of the Natives, [28] who had inhabited the Bay of *Massachusetts*, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the *English*, who might preserve them from the oppression of the *Nabargansets*. For it is the manner of the Natives, the stronger Nations to oppress the weaker.

This answer did not satisfie Mr. *Williams*, who pleaded, the Natives, though they did not, nor could subdue the Coun-

treys, (but left it *vacuum Domicilium*) yet they hunted all the Countrey over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the Countrey, once or twice a yeare, and therefore as Noble men in *England* possessed great Parkes, and the King, great Forrests in *England* onely for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety: So might the Natives challenge the like Propriety of the Countrey here.

It was replied unto him. 1. That the King, and Noble men in *England*, as they possessed greater Territories then other men, so they did greater service to Church, and Commonwealth.

2. That they employed their Parkes, and Forrests, not for hunting onely, but for Timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitation to sundry Tenants.

3. That our Townes here did not disturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keepe their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deere by Traps, and not by Hounds.

4. That if they complained of any straites wee put upon them, wee gave satisfaction in some payments, or other, to their content.

5. We did not conceive that it is a just Title to so vast a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but onely to burne it up for pastime.

But these Answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a Nationall sinne, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a Nationall duty to renounce the Patent: which to have done, had subverted the fundamentall State, and Government of the Countrey.

2. The second offence, which procured his Banishment, was occasioned as I touched before. The Magistrates, and

other members of the Generall Court upon Intelligence of some Episcopall, and malignant practises against the Countrey, they made an order of Court to take tryall of the fidelitie of the People, (not by imposing [29] upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie:" that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of publick charge, and Command. This Oath when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood it, and dissuaded fundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christs Pre-rogative, to have his Office established by Oath: partly because an oath was a part of Gods worship, and Gods worship was not to be put upon carnall persons, as he conceived many of the People to be.<sup>11</sup> So by his Tenent neither might Church-members, nor other godly men, take the Oath, because it was the establishment not of Christ, but of mortall men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, because in his eye they were but carnall. So the Court was

<sup>11</sup> Cotton here repeats the assertion made once before (p. 4), that this "Oath of Fidelitie" was not imposed, but offered. The form of the oath (see *Mss. Col. Records*, 1, 117,) furnishes no ground for this distinction. From the words which Cotton adds: "that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of publick charge, and Command," it would seem that he regarded the oath as designed only for persons accepting public office. But the oath was required of all freemen. The "Freemens Oath" was enacted in May, 1634, and was in addition to the "Residents Oath" previously prescribed by the Assistants.

The error into which Cotton here falls seems hardly to deserve the severe stricture of Backus: "Indeed when I come to find how the truth of this mat-

ter was, by the colony records, and to think that Mr. Cotton had them at his door when he wrote, I am the most shocked about him by this publication of his against Mr. Williams, of any thing I ever met with concerning him."—Backus, *Hist. N. E.*, vol. 1, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Knowles, quoting the foregoing passage erroneously refers it to the "Bloody Tenent Washed." See *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 67. In this mistake he is followed by the other biographers of Williams. Mr. Knowles seems also to misunderstand Backus as assenting to the assertion of Cotton that the oath at first was only offered, but Backus is far from making any such admission. So far as the ground taken by Williams was concerned, the question as to the form of the oath was evidently of no consequence.

forced to desist from that proceeding : which practise of his was held to be the more dangerous, because it tended to unsettle all the Kingdoms, and Common-wealths in Europe.

Respecting this ground see the statement on page 4, that Williams withstood the oath of Fidelity "partly because it was Christs Prerogative to have his office established by Oath ; partly, because an Oath was a part of Gods worship ;" and on page 55, to the same effect. Winthrop says, under date of April 30, 1635, "The governour and assistants sent for Mr. Williams. The occasion was, for that he had taught publicly, that a Magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain." Winthrop, 1, 158. In view of the precise agreement of these accounts, I see no grounds whatever for the remark of Mr. Knowles, that "The reasons assigned by Mr. Cotton for Mr. Williams' opposition to the oath are, we suspect, not all the reasons which really moved him to this course." Life of Roger Williams, page 67. Mr. Knowles is of the opinion, which Arnold adopts, (Hist. R. I., 1, 31,) that the opposition of Williams to the oath arose in part from the fact "that it might be understood to claim for the Court an authority superior to the Charter," but this surely was not a consideration likely to weigh with one who denied the validity of the Charter itself. Still less is there any ground for the further conjecture of Mr. Knowles, that the objection of Williams to the oath may have arisen from the fact that, being designed to guard against "Episcopall and malignant practises," it seemed to restrain liberty

of conscience. Life of Roger Williams, page 68.

The opinions of Williams respecting oaths were expressed by himself with great clearness in a work published a few years later : "Although it be lawfull (in case) for *Christians* to invoke the Name of the most *High* in *Swearing* ; yet since it is a part of his holy *worship*, and sometimes put for his whole *worship*, and therefore proper unto such as are his true *Worshippers* in *Spirit* and *Truth* ; and persons may as well be forced unto any part of the *worship* of *God* as unto this, since it ought not to be used but most *solemnly*, and in most *solemn* and *weighty* cases, and (ordinarily) in such as are not otherwise determinable ; since it is the voice of the two great *Law-givers* from *God*, *Moses* and *Christ Jesus*, that in the mouth of two or three *Witnesses* (not *Swearing*) every *Word* shall stand." See "Hireling Ministry None of Christs ;" An *Appendix* as touching *Oathes*. According to his own statement he had, in England, lost "great sums" in Chancery, in consequence of his conscientious scruples on this subject. See "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes," Appendix, pp. 59, 60.

While it is quite probable that the opposition of Williams to the Oath of Fidelity had in the eyes of the Magistrates, just at this juncture, a "special political significance," (Palfrey, Hist. N. E., 1, 410,) as the language of Cotton implies, yet it is clear that, in the mind of Williams himself, it was connected solely with religious scruples.

These were (as I tooke it) the causes of his Banishment : two other things fell in upon these that hastened the Sentence. The former fell out thus : The Magistrates discerning by the former passages, the heady and turbulent spirit of M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, both they, and others advised the Church of *Salem* not to call him to office in their Church ; nevertheless, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after, when the Church made suit to the Court for a parcell of Land adjoyning to them, the Court delayed to grant their Request (as hath been mentioned before) because the Church had refused to hearken to the Magistrates, and others in forbearing the choice of M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*. Whereupon M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* took occasion to stirre up the Church to joyne with him in writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof those Magistrates were members, to admonish them of their open transgression of the Rule of Justice. Which Letters coming to the severall Churches, provoked the Magistrates to take the more speedy course with so heady, and violent a Spirit.

But to prevent his sufferings, (if it might be) it was mooved by some of the Elders, that themselves might have liberty (according to the Rule of Christ) to deale with him, and with the Church also in a Church-way. It might be, the Church might heare us, and he the Church ; which being contented to, some of our Churches wrote to the Church of *Salem*, to present before them the offensive [30] Spirit, and way of their Officer, (M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*) both in Judgement, and Practise. The Church finally began to hearken to us, and accordingly began to adresse themselves to the healing of his Spirit. Which he discerning, renounced communion with the Church of *Salem*, pretending they held communion with the Churches in the Bay, and the Churches in the Bay held communion



with the Parish-Churches in *England*, because they suffered their members to heare the word amongst them in *England*, as they came over into their native Countrey. He then refusing to resort to the Publick Assembly of the Church. Soone after fundry began to resort to his Family, where he preached to them on the Lords day. But this carriage of his in renouncing the Church upon such an occasion, and with them all the Churches in the Countrey, and the spreading of his Leaven to fundry that resorted to him; this gave the Magistrates the more cause to observe the heady unrule-lineesse of his spirit, and the incorrigiblenesse thereof by any Church-way, all the Churches in the Countrey being then renounced by him. And this was the other occasion which hastened the Sentence of his Banishment, upon the former Grounds.<sup>13</sup>

If upon these Grounds M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* be ready, (as he professeth) *not onely to be bound, and banished, but also to dye in*

<sup>13</sup> Compare the Record of the General Court at Newe Towne, September 2, 1635. Massachusetts Records, vol. 1, p. 160.

"Whereas M<sup>r</sup> Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions, against the authoritie of magistrates, as also with lres of defamacōn, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any convicōn, & yet mainetaineth the same without retracōn, it is therefore ordered, that the said M<sup>r</sup> Williams shall dēpte out of this jurisdicōn within fixe weekes nowe nexte ensueing, w<sup>ch</sup> if hee neglect to pform, it shall be lawful for the Goū<sup>r</sup> & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdicōn, not to

returne any more without licence from the Court."

Respecting the date of this important proceeding a singular confusion exists. Governor Winthrop, evidently through oversight, enters it in his History under the date of October. Mr. Knowles, quoting the Colonial Records, gives the date as November 3. In this he is followed by subsequent biographers. But the sentence of banishment was passed September 3, the day after the meeting of the Court. The date is given correctly by Palfrey, Hist. New Eng. vol. 1, p. 412. The error deserves to be noted, since it added an undue harshness to the sentence. Williams however, it will be remembered, afterwards received permission to remain at Salem until spring.

New-England; let him remember, (what he knowes) *Non pœna, sed causa facit Martyrem*; No Martyr of Christ did ever suffer for such a cause.

When he feareth not to professe, that *he did in open Court maintaine the rocky strength of his grounds, to the satisfaction of his own, and (as he saith) of other mens Consciences.*

I can but wonder at the rocky flintinesse of his selfe-confidence: To give a taste of the rocky strength of his maintenance of these things; He made complaint in open Court, that he was wronged by a slanderous report up and downe the Countrey, as if he did hold it to be unlawfull for a Father to call upon his childe to eate his meate. Our reverend Brother M<sup>r</sup>. *Hooker*,<sup>14</sup> (the Pastor of the Church, where the Court was then kept) being mooved to speake a word to it, Why, saith he, you will say as much againe, (if you stand to your own Principles) or be forced to say nothing. When M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* was confident he should never say it: M<sup>r</sup>. *Hooker* replied, If it be unlawfull to call an unregenerate person to take an Oath, or to Pray, as being actions of Gods worship, then it is unlawfull [31] for your unregenerate childe, to pray for a blessing upon his own meate. If it be unlawfull for him to pray for a blessing upon his meate, it is unlawfull for him to eate it, (for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer un sanctified, 1 *Tim.* 4. 4, 5.) If it be unlawfull for him to eate it, it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to eate it, for it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to sinne.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at New-Towne, who came to New England in the same ship with Cotton in the year 1633. In June, 1636, he removed to Connecticut. According to Cotton Mather, "He had a singular ability at

giving answers to cases of conscience." When Williams was summoned before the Court for final action, "Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors." Winthrop, 1, 171.

Here M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* thought better to hold his peace, then to give an Answer.

But thus have I opened the grounds, and occasions of his Civill Banishment; which whether they be sandy, or rocky, let the servants of Christ judge. Howsoever, my Letter gave him no occasion at all to put me upon this Discourse; for in my Letter I intended only to shew him *the sandinesse of those grounds upon which he banished himselfe from the society (not of the Common-wealth, but) of all the Churches in these Countreys.*

But whether I intended the one, or the other, he giveth an Answer for both; *If M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton meane (saith he) my own voluntary withdrawing from all these Churches resolved to continue in those evils, and in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light unto them. I confesse it was mine own voluntary act: yea I hope the act of the Lord Jesus sounding forth in me (a poore despised Rams-borne) the blast which shall in his own holy season cast down the strength, and confidence of the Inventions of men in the worship of God: and lastly his act in inabling me to be faithfull in any measure to suffer such great, and mightie Tryalls for his Names sake.*

Reply, That I meant onely his own act in withdrawing himselfe from these Churches, doth plainly enough appeare both from my expresse words, and from the Reasons which I expressly assigne of that act of his, which I called the sandy grounds, upon which he built his Separation. My expresse words are, *He had banished himselfe from the society of all the Churches in this Countrey.* The society of the Church is one thing, the society of the Common-wealth, is another. And the Grounds upon which he built his Separation, were not the causes of his banishment, but of his withdrawing from the society of the Churches.

But if I so meant, *He confesseth it was his own voluntary act; and professeth also, it was a double act of the Lord Jesus in him.*

32] The ground which he giveth of his own voluntary act, *was because these Churches were resolved to continue in those evils, and persecuting the witnesses of the Lord Jesus, presenting light to them.*

Reply; Those evils? What were those evils, which wee were resolved to continue in? He expresseth none: but sure meet it had been, that as his voluntary withdrawing from these Churches was publickly known; so the evils in which we resolved to continue, and for which he withdrew himselfe, should in like manner have been publickly knowne also. It is an unrighteous thing to passe publick known acts, upon private unknowne evils. But whatsoever those unknown evils were, I suppose he conceiveth them to be such wayes, either of Judgement, or Practise, wherein wee walke according to the light of our Consciences. And then by his Rule he should have allowed us the like liberty of conscience, which himselfe requireth. And surely by the Royall Rule of the Lord Jesus, no Brother may be so much as admonished, (much lesse separated from) till he be convinced, (ἐλεγχον αὐτόν) *Mat. 18. 15.*

And as for *persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light to us*; himselfe (for ought I know) was the first in this Countrey, that ever pretended suffering for bearing witnesse in any matter of Religion true or false: And for him to withdraw himselfe from the society of all the Churches for their persecution of him, before he had suffered from them any thing but conference, and conviction, is to make them sufferers for well-doing, and to choose suffering, that he might have cause to complaine of sufferings. Let him, if he be able, name any one in this Countrey of the witnesses of the Lord, (for he speaketh of witnesses) that ever did so much as pretend before himselfe to suffer Persecution, for presenting light to us.

Thus he maketh that the ground of his withdrawing, which was not then *in Rerum naturâ*, (no not in pretence) till after his withdrawing. As a furious School-master will beate a childe for nothing till he cry, and then beate him for crying.<sup>15</sup>

But he further presumeth to affirme; *That his withdrawing was the act of the Lord Jesus in him, sounding forth that Blast, which shall one day cast downe the strength, and confidence of the Inventions of men in the worship of God.*

Reply. If a particular visible Church, consisting of visible Saints, and united by holy Covenant into one Congregation, to worship [33] the Lord, and to edifie one another in all his holy Ordinances; If such a Church be an Invention of man; If Elders called, and ordained by them for Administration of these Ordinances, be an invention of man; If the Covenant of Grace between the Lord, and his Church, and the Seales thereof, and the Censures dispensed against the violation thereof; If all these be the Inventions of man, then indeed the Lord hath founded a blast in Mr. Williams his horne, to cast down the Inventions of men in the worship of God. But if all these be the holy Institutions of the Lord Jesus, then let Mr. Williams know, that this speech of his is a blast of blasphemy against the Lord Jesus, to put upon him that which is the proper worke of Satan, to blast all the Churches, and Ordinances of Christ. And whereas it was wont to be the worke of Antichrist to defile all the Ordinances of Christ, it is now the worke of this examiner to deface, and abolish

<sup>15</sup> The voluntary withdrawing of Williams from the churches, on which Cotton lays so much stress, must have taken place in July or August, 1635, since on July 8, Williams was before the Court, still in full communion, while under date of August, Winthrop writes, "Mr. Williams pastor of Salem, being

sick and not able to speak, wrote to his church a protestation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the bay; neither would he communicate with them, except they would refuse communion with the rest; but the whole church was grieved herewith." Winthrop, 1, 166.

them all from the face of the earth. Whether of these workes are the more Antichristian? It may be he will be ready to say, (as the Prophet said in another case of *Senacherib*, *Ifai.* 10. 7.) he meaneth not so, nor doth his heart thinke so: and as *Hazael* said to the Prophet, *Is thy servant a dog, that he should doe this great thing?* (2 King. 8. 13.) *Sed quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* Why doth he separate from all Churches under Heaven, and refuse to gather into any Church where himselfe liveth, if he did not in these times look at all Church-Estate, and Fellowship, and Ordinances, as not to be found in the Land of the Living?

Lastly, *He looketh at it, as an act of Christ enabling him to be faithfull in any measure, to suffer such great and mightie Tryalls for his Names sake.*

But if the Spirit of the Apostle *John* had in some measure rested upon him, he would no more have mentioned (much lesse have magnified) his great, and mighty Tryalls, till he had seene *John* goe before him in such a like predication of his sufferings, who doubtlesse had lesse deserved it, and yet suffered more great, and mighty Tryalls, *Revel.* 1. 9. But full vessels make least sound.

Againe, He recoyleth to his civill Banishment, and observeth, *That if by banishing himselfe I meant his Civill Banishment, then* 1. *He discerneth the language of the Dragon in a Lambes lip; to put the sufferings of the Saints upon themselves, and the Devill.*

34] 2. *That I silently confesse, that the frame and constitution of our Churches is implicitly Nationall. Else if the Commonwealth, and Church were not one, how could he that is banished from the one, be necessarily banished from the other also?*

Reply. It was farre from my meaning, and words, when I spake of his banishing of himselfe from the Fellowship of

all the Churches in the Countrey, to intend his civill banishment. I knew his civill banishment was not meerly his own Act. I knew also that he might have been banished from the Commonwealth, and yet have retained (as some others have done) Fellowship with some Churches, if not with all the Churches in the Countrey. And therefore both his observations are but empty flourishes, and vanish like Bubbles. It is the wiliness of the Spirit of the Serpent, to hide his head under fig-leaved evasions.

But suppose I had meant by his banishment of himselfe, his civill banishment, and had meant, that by exposing himselfe deservedly to that censure, he had deprived himselfe of enjoying all the spirituall liberties of the Churches in the Countrey: might I not so have said, and yet not have spoken the language of the Dragon? What if the Dragon use such language to the Saints suffering innocently? may not the Spirit of God use the same words to a guilty person suffering deservedly? The language of the Dragon lyeth not alwayes in the words or meaning, but in the application, and intent of them. The Dragon said to Christ, *I know who thou art, the holy One of God*, Mar. 1. 24. Peter might say the same, or the like words, *Mat.* 16. 16. And yet in his mouth, it was not the language of the Dragon, but of the Holy Ghost.

Neither will it imply, That the Church, and Commonwealth, are all one, because he that deservedly is banished from the Common-wealth, banisheth himselfe also from the communion of the Churches; For the same finnes which may be offensive civilly to the Common-wealth, may be also spiritually offensive to the Church, and both proceed to censure the same person in their own way, severally.

35]

## TO CHAP. IV.

**I**N his fourth Chapter the Examiner answereth to a speech of mine, wherein to prevent his prejudice against my person, (which might weaken the fruit of my counsell to him) *I told him, I had not hasted forward the sentence of his Civill Banishment: and that what was done by the Magistrates in that kinde, was neither done by my Counsell, nor consent.*

Whereto he answereth, first, *That he observeth, I cannot but confesse, that it is hard for any man to doe good, or to speake effectually to the soule, or Conscience of any, whose body he afflicteth, and persecuteth, and that onely for their soule and Conscience sake.*

Reply. All that can truely be observed from my words is, That it is hard for any to take good from those, against whom they have conceived a prejudice, whether justly, or unjustly. But when he subjoyneth a Serpentine, that is, a subtile, and venomous insinuation, *as if I had afflicted, and persecuted his body, and that onely for his soule, and Conscience sake.*

*Ans.* I have been so farre from afflicting, or persecuting his body, (especially for his soule, or conscience sake) that in very truth, whilest I had any hope of prevailing for him, I may say, as *David* said for himselfe, against a like slander, *Psal. 7. 3, 4. I have sought to deliver him who without cause reproacheth me.*

Let not Mr. *Williams* please himselfe (as he doth in this Paragraph) in comparing the dealing of the Elders with him here, to the Persecutions of the Bishops against the godly Preachers in *England*. If the Bishops had dealt no worse with the godly Preachers there, and upon no more unjust causes, then the Elders dealt with him here, they might with good conscience, and good countenance have looked with



comfort, and confidence, both God, and man in the face, even now when God hath laid their carnall pompe, and worldly honour in the dust.

Neither let him please himselfe (as he doth in the next Paragraph) in his undoubted Assertion; *That what M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, and others did in procuring his sorrowes, was not without some regret, and reluctancy of Conscience, and affection, (as David in procuring Uriah's death, or Asa in imprisoning the Prophet.)* 36] For neither was he so innocent, as was *Uriah*, and that Prophet: nor had my selfe the like hand in his sufferings, as *David* and *Asa* had in the other: nor did I ever see cause of regret, and reluctancy of conscience, for any act of mine own about his sufferings. Onely I confesse I had (as he saith) some regret, and reluctancy of affection, and of compassion, to see one who had received from God, stirring and usefull gifts, to bestirre himselfe so busily, and eagerly to abuse them, to the disturbance of himselfe, his family, the Churches, and the Common-wealth.

That I consented not to his Banishment, he in part admitteth; *For what need was there (saith he) of that, being not one of the Civill Court?*

As if I might not have consented to it, though I needed not to have done it. I might have drawn up Articles against him, I might have come in as a witnesse against him, I might have solicited, and stirred up the body of the Magistrates against him, to rid the countrey of him: and then I had consented before-hand to what was done by the Magistrates in that kinde, though my selfe had been none of the Court; but none of all these acts, nor any such like were done by me.

But be it that I consented not, yet I counselled it, (and so consented) and to prove that he saith, *He will produce a double, and unanswerable Testimony for it.*

*First, That I publickly taught, (and still doe Teach, except lately Cbrist hath taught me better) that body-killing, soule-killing, and State-killing Doctrine of Persecuting all other Consciences, and wayes of worship but mine own, in the Civill State, and consequently in the whole world, if the Power, or Empire thereof were in mine hand.*

Reply. Were it not that I have learned from the word of truth, that when men are cast out of the Church of Christ, they are delivered up unto Satan, and so neither their wits, nor their tongues are their own. I could not easily have beleev'd that M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* could so confidently and openly have avouched such a notorious slander. Since the Lord taught me to know any thing, what conscience, or the worship of God meant, it hath been my constant judgement, and doctrine, and practise to the contrary.<sup>16</sup> Besides, *To teach the killing of the bodies of all such Consciences, and wayes of worship, as are not mine own*, is to make mine own conscience, and way [37] of worship, the infallible Rule, and soveraigne Standard, by which all consciences, and wayes of worship throughout the world, were to be regulated: yea, and as if this were a light measure of arrogancy, and usurpation, I make it a capitall crime, (a body-killing offence) for any man to swerve from my conscience, and way of worship, even in such Points wherein the Holy Ghost hath given expresse charge, that we should not judge, nor condemne one another, *Rom. 14. 3.* But I durst appeale even unto the conscience of M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* himselfe, (if it were now in the gracious

<sup>16</sup> "Neither is it true, that we suffer no man of any different Conscience or worship to live in our Jurisdiction. For not to speak of *Presbyterians*, who doe not onely live amongst us, but exercise their publick Ministry without disturb-

ance, there be *Anabaptists*, and *Antinomians* tolerated to live not onely in our Jurisdiction, but even in some of our Churches." Cotton's *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, p. 165.

keeping of Christ, or of himselfe, as in former times) that himselfe knoweth, I doe not thinke it lawfull to Excommunicate an Heretick, much lesse to persecute him with the civill Sword, till it may appeare, even by just and full conviction, that he sinneth not out of conscience, but against the very light of his own conscience. Sure I am, such a Point he reporteth is received from me, to the very same purpose, (and he reporteth it truely) in his *Bloudy Tenent*, pag. 8. This Answer may suffice to his first (as he calleth it) *unanswerable Testimony*.

His second unanswerable Testimony is, *That some Gentlemen that did consent to his Sentence, have solemnly testified, and with teares since confessed to himselfe, that they could not in their soules have been brought to have consented to the Sentence of his Banishment, had not M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton in private given them advice, and counsell, proving it just, and warrantable to their Consciences.*

Reply. I might here justly plead the equitie of the Romane Custome, to excuse my selfe from this accusation, untill the accusers come before me face to face: And truely, if Apocryphall witnesses may goe for unanswerable Testimonies, it is an easie matter to oppresse any innocency: I might also plead the incompetency of such a witness, as (haply lying under some censure from our Church, and removing himselfe from our fellowship) might take more liberty to speake against me in a pang of passion, what he would be loath to justifie in cold blood.) I might likewise alledge that one or two Magistrates makes not a Court, nor was his Sentence cast by the vote of one, or two: So that if I had counselled one or two to it, it would not argue that the act of the Magistrates, and of the Deputies, (which is the body of the Court) had been done by my counsell or consent. And indeed it

was the very true [38] meaning of my speech, that for the hastening of the Sentence of the Court against M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, that act of the Court (which was the act of the body of the Magistrates, and of the Deputies) it was neither done by my counsell, nor consent. For the body of them neither required my counsell, nor received my consent. What one of them did (for I remember but one that consulted with me about it) was not the act done by the Magistrates, whereof I spake. And let the occasion, and scope, and matter of that speech be remembred, and it will be found to tend to that purpose, and no other. About a yeare before the Sentence in Court passed against M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, the Governour, and other Magistrates having understood of the disturbances put upon the Civill State by M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams*, (which have been declared above) they sent for the Elders of the Churches in these parts, to acquaint us therewith, and to declare thereupon, the just grounds which they had to proceed against him: yet willing to conferre thereof with us, because he was an Elder of a Church. I doe not love to predicate mine own good offices to any: but his importunitie forceth me to utter it; when I heard the motion, I presented (with the consent of my fellow-Elders and Brethren) a serious Request to the Magistrates, that they would be pleased to forbear all civill prosecution against him, till our selves (with our Churches) had dealt with him in a Church way, to convince him of sinne: alledging that my selfe, and brethren hoped, his violent course did rather spring from scruple of conscience, (though carried with an inordinate zeale) then from a seditious Principle. To which the Governour replied, *That wee were deceived in him, if we thought he would condescend to learne of any of us: And what will you doe* (saith he) *when you have*

*run your course, and found all your labour lost ?*<sup>17</sup> I answered for the rest, we hoped better things: if it fell out contrary to our hopes, we could not helpe it, but must sit downe, and quiet our conscience in the Lords acceptance of our will, and endeavour for the deed.<sup>18</sup>

This interceding of my selfe, and other Elders in his behalfe, gave me just occasion of that profession above-mentioned, *That I had sought to deliver him, who without cause reproached mee.*

The issue was when the Church of *New-Towne*, with our owne, and others had endeavoured to convince both M. *Williams* of these offences, and the Church of *Salem* of their indulgent toleration [39] of him therein; it pleased the Lord to open the hearts of the Church to assist us in dealing with him: but he in stead of hearkening, either to them, or us, renounced us all, as no Churches of Christ: and therefore not at all to be hearkened unto.

<sup>17</sup> The Governour, whose words are here quoted, was Thomas Dudley, who had been elected successor of Winthrop, by the Court which met in May, 1634, partly in consequence of an injudicious sermon which Cotton himself preached, in which he laid down the direction "that a Magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, and to be publicly convicted, no more than the Magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold, etc., without like public trial etc." Winthrop, 1, 132. Dudley died July 31, 1653, and in his pocket were found some lines of his own composing, of which the following are a characteristic specimen:

Let men of God in courts and churches watch  
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,  
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,  
To poison all with heresies and vice.

See the account of Thomas Dudley in Mather's *Magnalia*.

<sup>18</sup> The statement which Cotton here makes respecting his personal attitude towards Williams is confirmed by the account of Winthrop, who says that both Cotton and Wilson interceded with the Court to stay the proceedings against Williams when he was first called to answer for his denunciation of the Patent. See Winthrop, 1, 123. The words "About a yeare before the Sentence," would seem to imply that Cotton interfered in behalf of Williams for the second time. Besides this intercession with the Court, Cotton, according to his own account, "spent a great part of the Summer in seeking by word and writing" to satisfy the scruples of Williams. See p. 47.

Whereupon the Magistrates being to assemble to the next Generall Court at *New-Towne*, intending (as appeared by the event) to proceed against him: And one of the Magistrates of our Towne being to goe thither, acquainted me that it was likely Mr. *Williams* his cause would then be issued, and asked me what I thought of it. *Truely* (said I,) *I pitie the man, and have already interceded for him, whilest there was any hope of doing good. But now he having refused to heare both his own Church, and us, and having rejected us all, as no Churches of Christ before any conviction, we have now no more to say in his behalfe, nor hope to prevaile for him.*<sup>19</sup> *Wee have told the Governour, and Magistrates before, that if our labour was in vaine, wee could not helpe it, but must sit downe. And you know they are generally so much incensed against his course, that it is not your voyce, nor the voyces of two, or three more, that can suspend the Sentence. Some further speech I had with him of mine own marvell at the weaknesse, and slendernesse of the grounds of his opinions, motions, and courses, and yet carried on with such vehemency, and impetuousnesse, and presidence of Spirit.*

<sup>19</sup> The language here used implies that Williams, "before any conviction," had renounced communion, not only with the Churches in the Bay, but with "his own Church" at Salem. The same impression is made in the enumeration, on a former page, of the "two other things that hastened the Sentence," p. 30. See also Preface, p. 6. But according to Winthrop, Williams did not separate from his own church until after sentence had been passed. "So, the next morning, the court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence; and his own church had him under question also for the same cause; and he, at his return home, refused com-

munion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them, etc." Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 171. The discrepancy between the two accounts may be reconciled by the obvious explanation that Cotton had in mind the fact which Winthrop states, that Williams, before sentence was passed, "wrote to his church a protestation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the bay; neither would he communicate with them except they would refuse communion with the rest." Volume 1, page 166.

To this purpoſe was my ſpeech to him, nor can I call to minde that I ſpake ſo much as this to any man elſe ; nor can I remember at all, that further then ſo, I gave him any grounds to prove the ſentencing of him to Banishment, to be juſt and warrantable to his Conſcience. Nor would it infringe the truth of my ſpeech if I had ſo done, ſeeing it is not one mans vote (nor two, if there had been two) that denominateth the ſentence of the Court, or the act to be done by the Magiſtrates, much leſſe done by the Magiſtrates with my counſell, and conſent : but though I looked at the Sentence of the Court, as neither haſtened nor done by my counſell, and conſent, yet I did never intend to ſay, that I did not conſent to the juſtice of the Sentence when it was paſt. Not that I withdrew my ſelfe out of the Court (as he is pleaſed to conſtrue it) *out of ſome reluctance ; or that I meant it, I neither counſelled nor conſented in the very time of the ſentence paſſing :* but that I did not before-hand either give counſell, or conſent to the body of the Magiſtrates, or Deputies, to paſſe that Sentence againſt him.

I ſee I have been ſo large in anſwering the former foure Chapters of this Examination of my Letter, that if I ſhould proceed in the like ſort in a particular ſearch of the other twenty-foure Chapters which remaine, I ſhould take up more time then were meet about the perſonall concernments of him, or my ſelfe. Who are wee, that we ſhould publicly invite the ſervants of Chriſt (who are employed in more weighty affaires of their Lord and ours) to attend unto perſonall Tranſactions between him, and me? Where any thing

shall occurre tending to more publick edification, I shall insist with more attention thereupon, and passe over other lighter Discourses, with a lighter touch. Yet who so can spare so much time, and leisure, as to compare each Chapter of his, with each Chapter of this Discourse, he shall finde (if I be not mistaken) no passage of weight passed over without returning due Answer to each particular. That Text in *Prov. 11. 26.* (*He that withholdeth the Corne, (which is the staffe of life) from the people, the multitude shall curse him:*) I alledged to prove that the people had much more cause to separate such from amongst them, (whether by Civill, or Church-Censure, as doe withhold, or separate them from the Ordinances, or the Ordinances from them, which are (in Christ) the bread of life. Let not the Reader be so farre mis-led by the Examiner his mis-information, as to thinke, that this Scripture was produced against him, to justifie either a false Ministry, or an unfit people to choose and enjoy a true Ministry. The Ministry, and people, are the Ministry and people of this Countrey: of which, the people he acknowledgeth to be Saints: and the Ministers of the Churches (chosen by them) not to be destitute of such qualifications, as Christ requireth, save onely that we doe not forbid the people when they goe over into *England*, to heare the word of God preached by godly Ministers in the Parish Churches. Now for this cause, because we doe not separate these *English* hearers from us, he separated himselfe, and withdrew others from hearing the word in our Churches with us: which I accounted as great, and as unsufferable an injury to the soules of Gods people, as it would be to their bodies to withhold the Corne from them, or them from the Corne: and for that end I produced this Scripture.

41] That I produced this Scripture alone to justifie the Sentence of the Court, it was not for want of others, (if that



had been the Question;) but because the scope of my Letter was, not to confirme the equitie of his Banishment, but to convince the iniquitie of his Separation. The mention of the cause of his civill Banishment fell in onely upon the by, to remove an objection out of the way, that because I denied the act of the Court to be done by my counsell, or consent, therefore it might seeme I disallowed the sentence. To prevent that mistake I acknowledged the righteousnesse of the Sentence, and for that end I produced that Scripture, as that which might give both some just reason before God of his Civill Banishment: and also make way for the discovery of his sinne of groundlesse Separation. Let no man be so farre mistaken, as to thinke, that his Separation from the Churches, was either the chiefe difference between the Court and him, (though it was the chiefe between him and me in my Letter;) or that it was the chiefest offence for which he suffered, though he so pretended.

*What though neither corporall nor spirituall food may lawfully be sold or bought, but with the good will, and consent, and authoritie of the owner? &c.*

Let him make it appeare, that Christ hath not committed the Ministry of the Gospel to us; and wee shall give place to others whom Christ shall send: Meane while, if the budding, and blossoming, and fruit-bearing of *Aarons* rod was a witnesse from Heaven, that the Lord approved his Ministry against all the murmurings of the Children of *Israel*, Num. 17. 5. to 8. We must leave him, and others to their murmurings against us, and quiet our consciences in an humble blessing of the Lord for his gracious blessing upon our weake labours in that holy Ministry wee have received from him.

*What though the Apostles were to turne away, and to shake off the dust of their feete, against scorneres, contradictors, despisers, persecutors?*

It was not till they had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and scorned, and persecuted the convincing light of the Gospel, *Acts* 13. 45. to 51.

Otherwise the *Jewes* were scorers, and persecutors of Christ himselfe, and of all that confessed his Name, *Job*. 9. 22. yet still the Apostles ceased not to Preach to them, and pray with them, [42] *Acts* 3. 1. &c. to wit, whilst their Persecutors sinned of ignorance, *ver.* 17.

*What though the Apostles were forbidden to preach to some places?*

He wisely quoteth no Text for it, lest the quoting might be the confuting of himselfe. He knoweth, it was but for a time that others (according to the good pleasure of Christs will) might be served before them.

*What if M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton saw just cause to refuse to sell spirituall Corne in a mis-ballowed Surplice?* Is it safe therefore for M<sup>r</sup>. Williams to shut up his sacks mouth, and to refuse to sell corne in his ordinary apparrell?

*What if M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton forbear to administer the Lords Supper to all beleivers, or Baptisme unto their children, untill the beleivers professe their Faith, and Repentance before the Church?* Is it safe therefore for M<sup>r</sup>. Williams to refuse to Breake the Bread of Life unto the Church of Salem, whereunto their Election, and Ordination of him, and his own voluntary acceptance thereof, had engaged him unto stuwardly office?

*What though in all Civill Transactions, and in all the present disturbances of England, principall respect is had unto a right Commission, and right Order?* Let him shew wherein our Commission, or Order is defective, and reason would we should hearken to him.

But see the warinesse, and slineesse of the Examiner: *I judge it not* (saith he) *seasonable here, to entertaine the Dispute of the true Power, and call of Christs Ministry.* An handsome

evasion. Now when the grounds of his Separation are questioned, now when he standeth upon his open justification, now in Print before the eyes of all men, now he thinketh it not seasonable, to entertaine any dispute of such things at all. Thus *Felix* would heare *Paul* when he had a more convenient time: and yet that was the very time and houre of his visitation, *Acts* 24. 25.

His evasion of this Text in *Prov.* 11. 26. (by comparing it with *Deut.* 17. 12.) doth but adde a delusion to an evasion. [*Deut.* 17. I suppose he meaneth, though his printed copie say *Deut.* 15.]<sup>20</sup> For it is a delusion to make the capitall punishment prescribed against the presumptuous rejection of the Sentence of the chiefeſt Court in *Iſrael*, a figure of Excommunication in the Church of Chriſt.

43] For firſt, no Scripture of old or new Teſtament giveth any intimation of any ſuch figure in this Law. And to make a judiciall Law a figure without ſome light from ſome Scripture, is to make a mans ſelfe, wiſe above that which is written.

2. That law is of morall equitie, that is of univerſall and perpetuall equitie, in all Nations, in all Ages: He that ſhall preſumptuouſly appeale from, or riſe up againſt the ſentence of the chiefeſt and higheſt Court in a free State, is guilty *Læſæ majeſtatis publicæ*, and therefore as a capitall offender to be censured in any free Common-wealth.

3. This Law in *Deut.* 17. provided an effectuall punishment againſt ſuch preſumptuous offenders, and an effectuall remedy againſt all ſuch like preſumption in others, that *all Iſrael might heare, and feare, and doe no more preſumptuouſly,*

<sup>20</sup> *Deut.* 17: 12, reads, "And the man that will do preſumptuouſly, and will not hearken unto the prieſt that ſtandeth to miniſter there before the LORD thy God, or unto the judge, even that man ſhall

die: and thou ſhalt put away the evil from Iſrael." A compariſon with Chap. 15, will ſhow the propriety of Cotton's correſtion.

ver. 13. But so doth not Excommunication. For what if an Excommunicate person presume against the sentence of Christ in his Church, (as Mr. *Williams* doth against the Sentence of the Church of *Salem*?) doth the power of the Church provide, that all the *Israel* of God may heare, and feare, and doe no more presumptuously? Is the figure become more powerfull, and effectually, then the substance? the shadow, then the body? the type, then the Antitype?

From this mistaken Figure, the Examiner would inferre, *The withholding of the Corne presumptuously to be death in Israel: but not so in every State of the world: much lesse the pleading against a false Ministry to be a capitall crime: for as for Banishment never such a course was heard of in Israel.*

*Ans.* That law in *Deut.* hath nothing to doe with the withholding of Corne presumptuously, unlesse there had first passed some sentence of the Sovereigne Court against the withholding of Corne. But otherwife ordinary finnes of presumption, doe fall under the Judicature of another Law, *Num.* 15. 30, 31.

Neither hath this Text in *Solomons Proverbs* any thing to doe with that Law in *Deut.* 17. nor with capitall punishment. *Solomon* doth not say, that every man that withholdeth his corne, shall be put to death in *Israel*: nor doe I say that he is to be put to death in any State of the world: least of all doe I say that Pleading against a false Ministry is a capitall crime: These are all but excursions, and evaporations of the superfluity of wit. But this I say, (and not [44] I but *Solomon*) *He that withholdeth the Corne, the people shall curse him*, *Prov.* 11. 26. And cursing implyeth Separation. He therefore that shall withdraw, or separate, the Corne from the people, or the people from the Corne; the people have just cause to separate either him from themselves, or them-

selves from him. And this proportion will hold as well in spirituall Corne as bodily: the Argument still standeth unshaken.

What though we never read of Banishment in *Israel*? we read of something proportionable: what else meaneth that Decree? *Let Judgement be executed to death, or to Banishment, Ezra. 7. 27. And Ezra. 10. 8? Let all his substance be forfeited, and himselfe separated from the Congregation of those that had been carried away.* And in *Moses*, frequent mention is made of, *Cutting off from the people*; which though in *Israel*, it may sometime signifie, cutting off by Gods hand, sometime by the sword of the Magistrate, and sometime cutting off from the fellowship of Gods House: yet in *Abrahams* Family, The cutting off (in *Gen. 17. 14.*) may very well reach, cutting off from their civill Cohabitation: as for a like offence *Ishmael*, and his mother were cut off from cohabitation in the Tents of *Abrahams* people, *Gen. 21. 9. to 14.*

Also he that had unawares slaine a man, was banished, though not out of all *Israel*, yet from his own House, and Towne, and Tribe, till the death of the High Priest, and that was as much as Banishment out of any Society of Christs people now, whether in Church, or Civill Fellowship. For though out of *Israel*, there was no full Banishment legally enjoined, because there was then no other Church extant in the world, (and so to banish a man out of *Israel*, was as much as to say, Goe, and serve other Gods, *1 Sam. 26. 19*) yet now when Church-fellowship in the true Religion may be had in so many places, to banish a man out of his Countrey, is no more then it was then to banish an *Israelite* into a Citie of Refuge. But though banishment be now a lawfull punishment in some case, yet I goe not about to prove that every wilfull withholding of corne, in every State is banishment,

much lesse death. But he that shall withhold his own corne, and goe about to perswade all others that have corne lying by them, to shut up their sacks mouths, and not to bring forth their corne for the nourishment of the people, (which is, if we speake of spirituall corne, the very case of the 45] Examiner) I doe not see but such an one may be justly accounted as *Hostis Reipublicæ*, a publick enemy of the Countrey, and, as such an one, in due order, to be cast out of it.

In due order I say; for if such an one be detained from bringing forth his corne by some scruple of Conscience, (as suppose a man able to Preach Christ, and so able to dispense spirituall corne, yet doubting of the true way of the Ministry since the Apostasie of Antichrist, dare not practise the Ministry.) Such an one should not be sodainly cast out of the Countrey, till he be first convinced, that the Apostasie of Antichrist, did never so farre prevaile against the Church of Christ, as to roote it out from off the face of the earth. The woman (which is the Church of Christ) was still nourished in a Wildernesse, even during all the Reigne of Antichrist, *Rev.* 12. 14, 15, 16. The Temple of God, (which is his Church) together with the Altar, and them that worship therein, were still measured, and that by *John* (by Apostolick measure) all the time, when Antichrist trod downe the outward Court of the holy City, *Rev.* 11. 1, 2. The Golden vessels of the Temple still continued in the middest of the Babylonish Captivitie. And if spirituall Babylon have now so farre prevailed against the Church of Christ, as that they have rooted it up from the face of the earth, then what is become of the promise of Christ; *The gates of Hell shall never prevaile against it?* *Mat.* 16. 18. Surely the Promise is given to a particular Congregationall Church, that it shall never faile, but shall always be extant in some Countrey, or

other; for he speaks of such a Church, to whom the keyes of the Kingdome are committed, *ver.* 19. It will be vaine to look for new Apostles to replant Churches out of the ruines of the Antichristian Apostasie. For the new Testament acknowledgeth *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be the last Apostles, 1 *Cor.* 4. 9. If any Apostles rise up after them, then *Paul* and *Barnabas* will not be the last. And when the New *Hierusalem* comes downe from Heaven, yet shée shall not be builded by any new Apostles, but built upon that foundation which the Lambes twelve Apostles have already laid, *Rev.* 21. 14.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In the foregoing paragraph Cotton had in mind some particular passages in the life of Williams, already alluded to on page 11, which are thus described by Winthrop, under date of July, 1639. "At Providence matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company, a few months since, were in all haste rebaptized, and denied communion with all others, and now he was come to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of England, (whom he judged to be ill authority,) so as he conceived God would raise up some apostolic power. Therefore he bent himself that way, expecting (as was supposed) to become an apostle; and having a little before refused communion with all, save his own wife, now he would preach and pray with all comers." Winthrop, vol. 1, 307.

These peculiar opinions which led Williams to renounce the Church at Providence only a few months after he had joined it, he continued to cherish during the remainder of his life. In his "Hireling Ministry None of Christs,"

published in 1652, he says: "In the poor small span of my life, I desired to have been a diligent and constant observer, and have been myself many ways engaged, in city, in country, in court, in schools, in universities, in churches, in Old and New England, and yet cannot, in the holy presence of God, bring in the result of a satisfying discovery, that either the begetting ministry of the apostles or messengers to the nations, or the feeding and nourishing ministry of pastors and teachers, according to the first institution of the Lord Jesus, are yet restored and extant." *Hireling Ministry*, p. 4.

The opinions of Williams respecting the ministry seem to have been almost identical with those of his illustrious friend, Sir Henry Vane, and they certainly resemble the views entertained, in our own times, by the disciples of Edward Irving. The connection of Williams with the Baptists was accidental and temporary. He did not join them until nearly two years had elapsed from the settlement of Providence, and remained connected with them only three or four months. See Letter of Richard Scot, in "New-Eng-

*As for those many excellent, and worthy Gentlemen, Lawyers, Physicians, and others, whom the Examiner commendeth to be as well gifted in the knowledge of the Scripture, and furnished with gifts, of tongues, and utterance, as most that professe the Ministry, and yet are not perswaded [46] to sell spirituall Corne, as questioning their true calling, and Commission.*

In such a case I would first seeke (by the helpe of Christ) to remove the scruples upon which they question their calling, and Commission.

Secondly, I would thinke it meet, to put a difference between such as never received a lawfull calling and commission to the Ministry, and them that have received it. But if any of them have received a lawfull calling into the Ministry, and yet will neither Preach themselves, nor suffer them that would, I suppose that both Church, and Common-wealth, may justly account them unworthy of any Christian society; and as such unprofitable servants refuse to minister themselves, or to suffer others to minister spirituall things; so others should refuse to minister to them carnall things.

*But (saith he) the selling, or withbolding of spirituall Corne, are both of a spirituall nature: and therefore must necessarily in a true Paralell beare Relation to a spirituall Curse.*

land Fire-Brand Quenched," page 247. What Toland says of Milton is equally true of Williams: "In his middle years he was best pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptists*, as allowing of more Liberty than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice. But in the latter part of his Life he was not a professed Member of any particular Sect among Christians, he frequented none of their Assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar Rites in his

Family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless Disputes, and that Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Persecution, which, he said, was a piece of Popery inseperable from all Churches; or whether he thought one might be a good Man, without subscribing to any Party; and that they had all in som things corrupted the Institutions of JESUS CHRIST, I will by no means adventure to determine." See Life of John Milton, Lond. 1699, p. 151.



*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* If they that minister spirituall good things may duely reape carnall good things, (1 Cor. 9. 11.) then they that hinder the ministring of spirituall good things, may justly reape the hinderance of enjoyment of carnall good things. What if spirituall, and carnall good things be not paralell? Are there no Arguments but *a Pari*? Is it not lawfull reasoning *a majori ad minus*? If men hinder the enjoyment of spirituall good things, may they not be hindred from the enjoyment of that which is lesse, carnall good things? It would weary a sober minde to pursue such windy fancies: though I hope the Lord will helpe me not to count it wearisome, either to satisfie a tender Conscience, or to convince a Gainfayer.

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TO CHAP. VI.

**T**HOUGH my Letter expresseth, *That it may be the Court passed that sentence against M<sup>r</sup>. Williams, not upon that ground, (from Prov. 11. 26.) but for ought I know, for his other corrupt Doctrines (suitable to his Practises) tending to the disturbance of Civill, and holy Peace: Yet I doe not therefore question (as he saith I seeme to [47] doe) the sandinesse of such a ground (as that place of Scripture) to warrant such proceedings; nor doe I therein confesse that my selfe had no distinct knowledge of the causes of his Banishment.*

For I did not alledge that place of Scripture, as a ground upon which the Court proceeded to his Banishment: and therefore I said in my Letter, it may be they passed Sentence not upon that ground. But I alledged it as a reason, which provoked the Lord to moove the Court to proceed against M<sup>r</sup>. Williams, for such other offensive, and disturbant Doc-

trines, and Practises against the Patent, and against the oath of fidelitie, and against the Magistrates delay of the Petition of *Salem*, which he himselfe knoweth, I had distinct knowledge of before, which maketh me the more to marvell at his wonder, *Where was my waking care in his behalfe* ;” Whereas he knoweth I spent a great part of the Summer in seeking by word and writing to satisfie his scruples in the former particulars: untill he rejected both our callings, and our Churches. And even then I ceased not to follow him still, with such meanes of conviction, and satisfaction in that Point also, as God brought to my hand: whereof this very Letter, (which he examineth, and answereth) is a pregnant, and evident demonstration.

*What though in this Letter I did not name his other corrupt Doctrines and Practises, nor any Scriptures to prove them corrupt?* His heart knoweth full well both the Points, and the Scriptures, that were charged upon him all that Summer. And to have rehearsed them againe in this Letter, it had been but *actum agere*, neither was it the worke in hand. For having done it before, wee looked for some satisfactory

<sup>22</sup> The statement which Cotton here makes, that the separation of Williams from the Churches, or in other words, his “withholding of spirituall Corne,” though not itself the “ground upon which the Court proceeded to his Banishment,” was yet “a reason which provoked the Lord to moove the Court to proceed against M<sup>r</sup>. Williams for “other offensive, and disturbant Doctrines, and Practises,” agrees with the statement before made that while the “causes of his Banishment” were his opposition to the Patent, and to the Oath of Fidelity, yet “two other things fell in upon these that hastened the Sentence.” See p. 29.

According to the account given by Williams, (*Mr. Cottons Letter* examined and answered, p. 7,) the verse Proverbs 11: 26, of which so much use is here made, was connected with a dispute between himself and Cotton “concerning the true Ministry appointed by the Lord Jesus.” Without doubt this dispute was a part of the discussion during “a greater part of the Summer,” to which Cotton refers above. But Williams confounded what was a “chief difference” between himself and Cotton, with that for which he “chiefly suffered” at the hands of the civil authority. Compare Preface, p. 8.

answer: but in stead thereof wee received onely a rejection of our callings, and Churches: so that there was nothing now left, but to endeavour to satisfie his Conscience in the sandinesse of those grounds, upon which he rejected communion with us.

## TO CHAP. VII.

**I**N the 7<sup>th</sup> Chapter M<sup>r</sup>. Williams examineth those words of my Letter, wherein I say, that *were my soule in his soules stead, I should accept it as a mercy of God, to banish me from the Civill Society of such a Common-wealth, where I could not enjoy holy Fellowship with any Church of God amongst them without sinne. For what should the daughter of [48] Zion doe in Babel? Why should shee not hasten to flee from thence?*

To this the Examiner answereth, that *though his love bids him to hope, that M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton herein intended him a Cordiall, yet if the Ingredients be examined, there will appeare no lesse then dishonour to the Name of God, danger to every Civill State, a miserable comfort to him, and a contradiction within it selfe.*

*Reply.* It is true, what I wrote was in love to his soule: but I intended not a cordiall of consolation to him, (for I did not conceive his Spirit at the present prepared for it;) but I intended onely a conviction, to abate the rigour of his indignation against dispensation of divine Justice: And therefore presented before him the mercy of God in that Administration.

But he beginneth with the last, first, to shew me the evill of these Ingredients.

And first for the contradiction to my selfe, in *that I speake of the daughter of Zion in Babel*: If he call (saith he) *the Land Babel*, how can it be *Babel*, and the Church of Christ also?

As if *Zion* cannot be in *Babel*, but it must be *Babel*? or as if the Church cannot be in the world, but it must be the world? Or as if when I call the Land *Babel*, I speake of it as it is in it selfe, and not rather as it is in his apprehension? the Churches (in his imagination) still holding communion with Antichristian *Babylon*.

Secondly, He maketh it a dangerous Doctrine to affirme it, *a misery to live in that State where a Christian cannot enjoy the fellowship of the publick Churches of God without sinne*.

Reply. 1. Though I doe affirme it to be a mercy to be delivered out of such a State, yet I doe not affirme it to be a misery to live in it. It is a mercy to be translated, not onely from misery to happinesse, but from a lesse good to a greater. It is a mercy to a faithfull soule to be translated from a Saint to a Minister; and yet Saintship is no misery.

2. It is some degree of misery, and no small one to a spirituall mind, for a Christian to live where he cannot enjoy the fellowship of Churches: or else *David* complained without cause; *Woe is me, that I am constrained to dwell in Mesbek*, Psal. 120. 5. & 42. 4.

*What if there be many famous States, wherein no Church of Iesus Christ is knowne?* Is it not a mercy to be dimissed from such a State to a Land of more liberty, and piety?

49] *What if God commanded his people to Pray for the Peace of materiall Babel, whilst they were forced to abide in it?*

Was it not therefore a mercy from God, for *Cyrus* to deliver them out of *Babel*?

*What if Sodom, Ægypt, Babel*, be spiritually understood, Rev. 11. 8. & 14. 8.

Is it not therefore a mercy when God calleth his People out of such Dungeons, and sinkes of abomination?

*What if there were a true Church in materiall Babel?* 1 Pet. 5. 13.

Let him remember what he spake a little before; *That if I speake not of Babel mystically, I speake not to the Point:* Let him apply it to himselfe.

Wherefore doth he tell us againe of *his being driven into the miseries of an howling Wildernesse?*

1. It was no howling Wildernesse when he came to it, as hath been said above.

2. He might have gone to other *English* Plantations Eastward, *Pascatoq* ;, and *Agaminticus*.

3. *Solomon* telleth us, *It is better to live in a Wildernesse, then with a contentious, and angry woman*, Prov. 21. 19. And such he accounteth all our Churches, and Courts to be.

Thirdly, saith he, *M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton himselfe would have counted it a mercy, if he might have Practised in Old-England, what he doth in New-England, with the enjoyment of Civill Peace, &c.*

*Reply.* True; but what is that to the purpose? The Question is if I could not enjoy the Fellowship of publick Churches without sinne, (as in those dayes I could not) whether then I would account it a mercy to be removed? Verily, I doe so account it, and blesse the Lord from my soule for his abundant mercy in forcing me out thence, in so fit a season.

*But further, (saith he) what if M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton should dissent from the new English Churches, and joyne in worship with some other, (as some few yeares since, he was upon the Point to doe, in a separation from the Churches there, as Legall) would he count it a mercy to be pluckt up by the rootes, him, and his, and to endure the losses, distractions, miseries, that doe attend such a condition?*

*Reply.* The Examiner is falsly, and foully mis-informed, when he saith, *I was about to separate some few yeares since from the new English [50] Churches as Legall.* For I never counted them as Legall Churches; nor was I ever about to separate from them as Legall, or otherwise so uncleane, that a good conscience might not hold communion with them without sinne.

The truth is, There was a Generation of Familists in our own, and other Townes, who under pretence of holding forth, what I had taught, touching union with Christ, and evidencing of that union, did secretly vent fundry corrupt, and dangerous errors, and heresies, denying all inherent righteoufnesse, and all evidencing of a good estate thereby in any sort, and some of them denying also the Immortalitie of the soule, and Resurrection of the body.<sup>23</sup> When they were questioned

<sup>23</sup> The first mention by Winthrop of the gifted and unfortunate Anne Hutchinson is as follows: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches; as, 1., Our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself." Winthrop, 1, 200.

According to her own statement, made to the General Court, Mrs. Hutchinson had come to New England for the express reason that she might continue to enjoy the spiritual ministrations of Cotton, who had been her near neighbor in Lincolnshire. See "A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the *Antino-*

*mians, Familists & Libertines,"* p. 38.

The expression which Cotton uses to describe the Antinomians, "a Generation of Familists," hardly conveys an adequate notion of their importance. Says Thomas Welde, who has never been accused of presenting them in too favorable a light: "And that which added rigour and boldness to them was this, that now by this time they had some of all sorts, and quality, in all places to defend and Patronise them; Some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Scholars, and men of learning, some Burgessees of our Generall Court, some of our Captains and Soldiers, some chiefe men in Townes, and some men eminent for Religion, parts and wit. So in Towne-meetings, Military-trainings, and all other Societies, yea almost in every family, it was hard if some or other were not ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their owne eye." See "Short Story, &c.," Preface.

by some Brethren about those things, they carried it as if they held forth nothing but what they had received from me.<sup>24</sup> Whereof when I was advertised, to cleare my selfe, I publickly Preached against these errors. Then said the Brethren to the erring party, See, your Teacher declares himselfe clearely to differ from you. No matter (say the other) what he saith in publick, we understand him otherwise, and we know what he saith to us in private. Yea and I my selfe could not easily beleieve that those erring Brethren, and Sisters were so corrupt in their Judgements, as they were reported, they seeming to me forward Christians, and utterly denying unto me any such Tenents, or any thing else but what they received from my selfe. All which bred in sundry of the Countrey a jealousy that I was in secret a Fomentor of the Spirit of Familisme, if not leavened my selfe that

<sup>24</sup> That it was not alone the belief of Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends that Cotton agreed with their opinions appears from the following account by Thomas Shepard. Describing his settlement at Cambridge, he says: "No sooner were we thus set down and entered into church fellowship, but the Lord exercised us and the whole country with the opinions of Familists; begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane, too suddenly chosen Governor, and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by the members of Boston, and some in other churches." And after speaking of the "monstrous opinions" gendered in the country, he adds: "Which the elders perceiving, having used all private brotherly means with Mr. Cotton first, and yet no healing, hereupon, they publicly preached both against opinions publicly and privately

maintained." See "Thomas Shepard's Memoir of his own Life," in Young's *Chronicles of Mass.*, pp. 546-47. This last statement gives color to the assertion of the Antinomians that Cotton said to them in private what he did not say in public. On this point compare further the statement of Winthrop, (vol. 1, p. 202,) that, the Boston church having under consideration the question of calling Mr. Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson, to be teacher, when it was objected that he held to her opinions, "Hereupon the governour (Vane) spake, that he marvelled at this, seeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine." Winthrop further states, that Cotton agreed with Vane in holding that the Holy Ghost dwelt personally in the believer, and that when a question arose in the church "about sanctification," Vane and Cotton took the same view. pp. 206, 210.

way.<sup>25</sup> Which I discerning, it wrought in me thoughts, (as it did in many other sincerely godly Brethren of our Church) not of a Separation from the Churches, as Legall, (whom we truly embraced, and honoured in the Lord) but of a Remoovall to *New Haven*, as being better knowne to the Pastor,<sup>26</sup> and some others there, then to such as were at that time jealous of me here. The true Ground whereof was, an inward loathnesse to be troublesome to godly mindes, and a feare of the unprofitablenesse of my Ministry there, where my way was suspected to be doubtfull, and dangerous. I chose therefore rather to meditate a silent departure in Peace, then by tarrying here to make way for the breaking forth of

<sup>25</sup> That Winthrop himself shared, in some degree, this "jealousie," seems likely from the letter that he wrote to Cotton, (Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 211,) and the wide extent to which it was diffused among the clergy appears from various passages; as for example, the statement p. 212, that "About this time the rest of the ministers, taking offence at some doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and especially at some opinions, which some of his church did broach, and for he seemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with those persons, drew out sixteen points, and gave them to him, entreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies thereof were dispersed about. Some doubts he well cleared, but in some things he gave not satisfaction." Winthrop, 1, 212. Again p. 213, Winthrop speaks of "Mr. Cotton's party," and p. 218, referring to the fact that Vane, Cotton and Wheelwright did not attend an ordination at Concord, adds, "The reason was conceived to be,

because they accounted them as legal preachers, and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination."

<sup>26</sup> The Rev. John Davenport, who was born in 1597, and educated first in Merton College, then in Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He afterwards preached in London. Driven by the arbitrary proceedings of Laud to Holland, he came to New England in 1637, in compliance with the earnest request of Cotton, and in 1638, with Theophilus Eaton, founded the colony of New Haven. Between him and Cotton the warmest friendship existed, and on the death of Cotton, Davenport was invited to become his successor. He died in Boston, 1670, and was buried in the same tomb with his friend, near that of Governor Winthrop, in the northern corner of King's Chapel Grave-yard. As the colony of New Haven was not founded until some time after the meeting of the Synod at New-Towne, it is evident that the qualified assent yielded by Cotton to its decisions was still far from removing the suspicions felt respecting him.



Temptations. But when at the Synod<sup>77</sup> I had discovered the corruption of the Judgement of the erring Brethren, and saw their fraudulent pretence of [51] holding forth no other, but what they received from me, (when as indeed they pleaded for grosse errors, contrary to my judgement;) and thereupon bare witness against them; and when in a pri-

<sup>77</sup> Held at New Towne, August 30, 1637, at which eighty-two erroneous opinions, "found to have been brought into New-England, and spread underhand there," were condemned. These opinions are enumerated in the "Short Story," before quoted. One of the moderators of the Synod was Bulkeley, of Concord, in whose ordination Cotton had refused to take part, on the ground that he was a "legall preacher."

One result of the Antinomian controversy was an Order of the Court to the effect, "that none should be received to inhabit within this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates." This order gave great offence, and Winthrop prepared and published an elaborate vindication of it. From this "Defence" the following extract is quoted from its direct bearing upon a question previously discussed in these notes. Referring to the case of Wheelwright, Winthrop says: "If we conceive and find by sad experience that his opinions are such, as by his own profession cannot stand with externall peace, may we not provide for our peace, by keeping off such as would strengthen him, and infect others with such dangerous tenents? and if we finde his opinions such as will cause divisions, and make people look at their magistrates, ministers and brethren as enemies to Christ; and Antichrist, &c were it not

sinne and unfaithfullness in us, to revive more of those opinions, which we all ready finde the evill fruit of; Nay, why doe not those who now complayne joyne with us in keeping out of such, as well as formerly they did in expelling Mr. Williams for the like, though lesse dangerous?" Life and Letters of John Winthrop, 1630-49, p. 186. Vane replied to Winthrop's "Defence." See Upham's Life of Vane, in Sparks' Amer. Biography, p. 152.

It is a remarkable fact that while this controversy respecting religious toleration was at its height, Roger Williams, writing from Providence, to his friend Governor Winthrop, about certain "subscriptions" which "he had thoughts of propounding" as a basis of government for the new settlement, which as yet had no legal existence, makes no reference whatever to that distinctive principle, which, according to the commonly received opinion, was uppermost in his thoughts at this time. The significant limitation "only in civil things," which forms a part of the subscription as it was finally entered upon the Records of the town, does not appear in the original draught which Williams submitted to Winthrop. See Letter of Roger Williams to John Winthrop, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. 6, page 186. Compare with Staples, Annals of Providence, p. 39.

vate-conference with some chiefe Magistrates, and Elders, I perceiued that my purpose of removall upon such differences was unwelcome to them, and that such Points needed not to occasion any distance (neither in place, nor in heart) amongst Brethren, I then rested satisfied in my abode amongst them, and so have continued by the Grace of Christ unto this day.<sup>28</sup>

But now to returne to M<sup>r</sup>. Williams his Question; *In the time of this Difference, would I count it (saith he) a mercy to be pluckt up by the rootes, me, and mine, and to endure the losses, distractions, and miseries, that doe attend such a condition?*

<sup>28</sup> Cotton retained his position as Teacher of the Boston church until his death, which took place on Thursday, Dec. 23, 1652, between the hours of eleven and twelve, after the bell had called to the usual Lecture. "Upon the 29th he was interred in a brick tomb in the old burying ground, (adjoining the King's Chapel,) in the northern corner, near the Savings' Bank, and not far from Winthrop's tomb." Young's *Chronicles of Mass.* p. 429, note. His grand-son, Cotton Mather, states that his funeral was the "most grievous and solemn that was ever known perhaps upon the American strand; and the lectures in his church, the whole winter following, performed by the neighboring ministers, were but so many funeral sermons upon the death and worth of this extraordinary person." The best account of Cotton is in the biography written by his friend the Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who arrived at Boston, May 26, 1636, and soon after became minister of the church at Lynn. Whiting's "Life" is the basis of those by Norton and Cotton Mather. It is printed in Young's *Chronicles of Mass.* But in the remarkable paragraph,

to which this note is appended, the discerning reader will find the character of Cotton more distinctly portrayed than by either of his admiring biographers. In this most unsatisfactory account of his connection with the Antinomians may be clearly traced the vacillating temper, the love of middle courses, that gave to the title "Melancthon of New England" applied to him by Cotton Mather, a fitness which was not designed, and that seems to justify the language of Mr. Bancroft, "the flexible Cotton." *Hist. U. S.*, vol. 1, p. 391. And there are several circumstances which serve to show that the high estimate in which he was held by all for piety and learning is not to be accepted as measure of his public influence. See Palfrey, *Hist. N. E.*, vol. 2, p. 409.

It is certainly a most instructive illustration of the spirit of that time that he who was afterwards termed "the father and glory of Boston," should, by his own account, have seriously meditated a removal to a distant town, from "an inward loathness to be troublesome to godly mindes," and because his "way was suspected to be doubtfull and dangerous."

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* Yea truly, if those jealousies, and differences had still held, I should have accounted it, and then did account it a mercy to see a doore open for remoovall. And therefore in my heart chose it, and purposed it, as a way of wisdom, and mercy.

But whereas he talketh of plucking up by the rootes, the Metaphor is too Catachresticall. An old Tree pluckt up by the rootes is not like to grow againe: but neither he, nor I, was exposed to such an Eradication: we might have remooved (with our selves) whatsoever mooveables we had; and what we could not remoove, we might put it off (sooner, or later) unto others for a valuable consideration. So that though wee had been plucked up by the rootes, our rootes had not been dried up, but would have sprung forth againe to our comfortable supportance.

It is a question altogether impertinent, which the Examiner putteth in the next place, *Whether if the Inhabitants in New-England were permitted to enjoy in Old-England their Congregationall way, whether then M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton himselfe (if he were seated in Old England againe) would count it a mercy to be banished from the Civill State?*

For that is not at all the Question in hand, but this: whether if there were no Congregationall Churches in *Old-England*, unto which we might joyne without sinne, whether then it were a mercy to be thrust out? And verily for my selfe (and I doubt not for many a thousand more) I should account it a mercy, to be hastened out, yea, (if I lingred) to be thrust out in such a case. If many thousand godly persons in this Countrey did not make the same [52] account, how came we to dwell here, as we doe this day?

*Neither yet doe I make God the Author of such cruell mercy, in them that were the causes of our casting out, as he calumniateth.*

For the Instruments of any unjust dealing with the servants of God may be cruell: when yet the hand of God in ordering such a worke may be most mercifull. The hand of God was most mercifull to *Joseph* in casting him out of his Fathers house into *Ægypt*, when yet the hand of his brethren was defiled with bloud-guiltie cruelty.

When the Examiner concludeth, that *if I had been exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants, debts, hardships of Sea and Land, in a banished Condition, he presumeth I would reach forth a more mercifull Cordiall to the afflicted; and therefore looketh at himselfe afflicted, as a Lampe despised in the eyes of him that is at ease*, Job 12. 5.

I desire the Lord might be pleased to open his eyes by such afflictions, wisely to consider whether he be not out of his way, when he meeteth with such miseries, poverties, debts, hardships? Surely when God hedgeth in the way of his people with thornes, he calleth them to returne to their first husband, for then it was better with them, then now, *Hos. 2. 6.* His banishment was doubtlesse no cause of such afflictions: Divers others have been cast out of the Countrey, as well as he, and yet God hath generally rescued them from affliction, & prospered their estates before his eyes. But when he chooseth rather to betake himselfe to merchandise by Land and Sea, (unto which he was never brought up) then to serve the Lord, and his People in dispensing spirituall food to them in a Church-way, no marvell if the Lord doe not shine upon his way, but expose him to debts, necessities, poverties, miseries, hardships by Sea and Land.<sup>29</sup> It is farre off

<sup>29</sup> From a passage in Williams's Letter to Major Mason, dated June 22, 1670, it would appear that he had extensively engaged in trade before leaving Salem. "And surely, between those, my friends

of the Bay and Plymouth, I was sorely tossed, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, besides the yearly loss of no small matter in my trading

from me to despise his afflicted condition : but the truest mercifull cordiall to his afflicted estate, would be to perswade him that he is out of his way, and still blesteth himselfe (though God both crosse his estate, and blast his spirit) in such a way.

As for my being at ease, (as he calleth it) had he been a little longer acquainted with the faithfull discharge of a Ministers office, he would not judge it such a state of ease. If I durst allow my selfe to seeke, and take mine ease, I should sooner choose a private solitary condition in his Wildernesse, then all the throng of employment in this numerous society.

**I**N his 8<sup>th</sup> Chapter M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* rehearseth, and examineth those words of my Letter, wherein to helpe him to a seri-

with the English and natives, being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England. God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay my temporary losses I have sustained." See Knowles, "Life of Roger Williams," Appendix, p. 395. The passage is quoted in Pub. Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 32. Unless the statement is exaggerated the business operations of Williams must have been conducted on an extensive scale. After he relinquished the ministry he supported himself chiefly by trade. In 1649, he was near losing his life by the upsetting of a canoe, loaded with goods, in which he was going from Providence to Narragansett. According to his own account, his trading house at Narragansett, which he was obliged to give up on going to England, had yielded him "one hundred pounds profit per annum." See Knowles's Life, pp. 232-247.

It also seems clear to my mind that the words "by Sea and Land," which Cotton here quotes from Williams's Answer, (Cotton's Letter examined and answered, p. 12,) do not refer, as has been supposed, to the "fourteen weeks" during which Williams says he "was sorely tossed," but to the whole period of his "banished condition." On this account I am unable to subscribe to the opinion that Williams fled from Salem by sea. (See Publications Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 33.) The common metaphor, "I steered my course from Salem," made use of in his Letter to Major Mason, must obviously be interpreted by the words which directly follow, "though in winter snow," language that could scarcely have been used to describe a voyage by water. In speaking of "hardships by Sea," Williams doubtless had in mind such mishaps as the one above referred to.

ous fight of his sinne, I said *that it pleased the Lord Jesus to fight against his corrupt wayes with the sword of his mouth, in the mouths and testimonies of the Churches, and Brethren. Against whom, when M<sup>r</sup>. Williams over-beated himselfe in reasoning, and disputing against the light of his Truth, it pleased the Lord to stop his mouth, by a sodaine disease, and to threaten to take his breath from him. But he in stead of recoyling (as even Balaam offered to doe in the like case) chose rather to persist in his way, and to protest against all the Churches, and Brethren that stood in his way, &c.*

In these lines, the Examiner telleth us, *an humble, and discerning Spirit may espie, first, a glorious justification, and boasting of my selfe, and others concurring with me: secondly, an unrighteous, and uncharitable Censure of the afflicted.*

Reply. Whether is it a more glorious boasting, to challenge to a mans selfe, *an humble, and discerning Spirit*, (as the Examiner doth here, and elsewhere in this Treatise) or to ascribe the glory to Christ in fighting with the sword of his mouth, in the testimonies and labours of the Churches, and Brethren against his corrupt wayes?

Surely when our glorying is not in our selves, but in the Lord Jesus, we are allowed so to doe by the Holy Ghost, *Isa 45. 25. In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.*

Object. *But is it not a glorious boasting of our selves, when as wee make the sword in our mouths, and testimonies, to be the sword of the mouth of Christ; when as the holy Scripture putteth the sword of Christ in the mouths of such witnesses, as himselfe, and some others, who in meeknesse, and patience, testifie the truth of Jesus against Antichrist, and against all false Callings of Ministers? And whether is M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, swimming with the streame of outward credit, and profit, and smiting with the fist,*

*and sword of Persecution: or himselfe, and such other the witnesses of Christ, most like unto Balaam?*

*Reply.* 1. The quicknesse of the Examiners wit over-runne his judgement; for I did not compare him to *Balaam* as like, much lesse [54] as most like; but as unlike. For that which *Balaam* would have done, I said, he would not doe.

2. Let the light of the holy word of God discover, and judge, whether the sword of the mouth of the Lord Jesus be found in his mouth, and his fellowes, or in the mouths of the Churches, and Brethren here: and let the tryall be upon this very Point, whether witnesseth for Christ, or for Antichrist?

1. We witnesseth that Christ was never so farre overthrowne, and overcome by Antichrist, but that still the Lord Jesus hath preserved a Congregationall Church, one or more, especially since the Reformation of Religion, by the Ministry of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, and other Ministers of Christ in the dayes of our Fathers.

The Examiner witnesseth, that since the Apostasie of Antichrist, Antichrist hath so farre prevailed against Christ, and his Kingdome, that he hath no Church, nor Church-Officers left upon the face of the earth to this day.

2. Wee witnesseth the godly persons, visible Saints, confessing their knowne sinnes, and professing their faith, are fit materialls for Church-fellowship.

The Examiner witnesseth, that the Churches (which consist of such visible Saints) are nullities, unlesse they discern every spot, and pollution of Antichrist, and forsake it: (for Instance) unlesse they see the Antichristian pollution of the Ministry in *England*, and doe refuse to heare the word from it.

3. We witnesseth, that Persons qualified with a convenient measure of spirituall gifts, fit to lead Gods people; and chosen,

and elected by a Congregation of visible Saints, and ordained, and set apart unto the worke of the Ministry, have received a lawfull calling from Christ to that office.

The Examiner witnesseth against this as a false Calling, upon what pretence himselfe better knowes then I.

4. We witnesse, that it is lawfull for the King of *England*, to give a Patent to a certain number of his Subjects, to transplant themselves out of *England* into *America*, and to possesse such Lands as the Providence of God layeth open before them, between such, and such Degrees of the Horizon. Provided that his Subjects adventure not upon such acts as the Patent never intended, as to murder the Natives, or to dispossesse them by violence or fraud of their lawfull [55] Possessions: but either to plant themselves in a *vacuum Domicilium*, or if they sit downe upon the Possession of the Natives, to receive the same from them by a reasonable Purchase, or free Assignment.

The Examiner witnesseth against all such Patents, and Preacheth it to be unlawfull for Magistrates to execute Justice upon the *English* by them, and that it is necessary to repent of receiving such Patents, and to returne them back againe into the hands of those Princes, or of their Successors, from whom they received them.

5. We witnesse, that it is lawfull for Magistrates (especially in time of danger) to offer to the Subjects under them an Oath of Fidelity, whether they be regenerate, or unregenerate.

Mr. *Williams* witnesseth it to be utterly unlawfull so to doe: an Oath for confirmation of Office being peculiar to Christ: and an Oath being a worship of God not meete for unregenerate Persons to take into their mouths.

6. Wee witnesse, that if a Church refuse to hearken to the voyce of Magistrates in delaying the Election, or ordina-



tion of such an one to Office, whom they finde to be troublesome to the State, then it may be lawfull for Magistrates to delay the granting of the Petition of such a Church for Lands that lie convenient for them.

M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* witnesseth, that in such a case the Church, whose Petition is so delayed, may write Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof such Magistrates are members, to require them to grant without delay such Petitions, or else to Proceed against them in a Church-way.

Now let the Churches of Jesus Christ, and all the Saints on earth judge, in whether sort of these witnesses, the word, and Spirit of Christ, or Antichrist breatheth. As for the deciphering which the Examiner maketh of M<sup>r</sup>. *Cotton*, as *swimming with the streame of outward credit, and profit, and smiting with the fist, and sword of Persecution of such as doe not joyne in worship with him*. I cannot say that I have sworn, but I thanke God I have waded through credit, and discredit, through evill report, and good report, as a deceiver, and yet true. And for profit, I have neither abounded in superfluities, nor (through mercy) have been long destitute of necessities: but whether this be a badge of Antichrist, and not compatible to the witnesses of Christ, I have not yet learned. 56] And for smiting with the fist, and sword of Persecution, if Persecution be affliction for Righteousnesse sake, I would willingly learne of the Examiner, whom of all the Righteous I have smitten with the fist, or wounded with the sword? I speake according to his own meaning, meaning (as I suppose himselfe doth) neither bodily fist, nor materiall sword; but let him then Instance in some one, or other, that hath felt the heaviness of my fist, or the keenesse of my sword, or else let him remember what the Spirit of God hath said (*Psal.* 31. 18.) concerning such, as speake bitter things

proudly, and contemptuously, (and I also adde) injuriously, and falsely against those whom himselfe in the next line styleth *holy, and beloved*.

To the second, *the Censure which he calleth unrighteous, and uncharitable*; He confesseth, it pleased God to bring him neere unto death: But his Answer he returneth in two things.

1. By deriving the cause of his sicknesse, not from his excessive beate in disputing against the testimonies, and writings of the Churches, and Elders, but from his excessive Labours on the Lords dayes, and thrice a weeke at Salem, by labours day and night in the field with his own hands, by travels day and night also to goe, and returne from the Court.<sup>30</sup>

*Reply.* The Court being held within twelve or fourteene miles distance from Salem, travell to, and fro, was no likely cause of such distemper. And whatsoever his Labours were in Towne or Field, on the Lords Dayes, or weeke dayes, (I detract not from them;) but this is all I would say, That that sodaine distemper fell not upon him, neither in the field at his labour, nor on the weeke dayes, or Lords dayes in his Preaching: but in his vehement publick arguing against the writings, and testimonies of the Churches, and Brethren sent to him, and to the Church of Salem, against his corrupt wayes. Wherein though I know, *All things fall alike to all*: yet if Moses himselfe (as well as Balaam) meet with a check in his journey from the hand of God, I beleieve it is a just call to consider; Is there not a lye in my right hand? Or is there not an Idol in my heart? or doe I goe about the worke of God, in a way of God? Howsoever, it was farre from me to upbraide your sicknesse, (as your marginall note taxeth;) but rather to call you to consider of your unprofitable, and perverse use of it.

<sup>30</sup> Winthrop alludes to this sickness. See, *ante*, p. 32, note 15.

The second part of his Answer is a Recrimination of the Officer [57] of Justice, by whom in this time he was unmercifully driven from his Chamber to a winters flight.

*Reply.* When he saith, in this time; if he meane (as the words foregoing expresse) the time wherein he was neere unto death, it is a manifest untruth. For the Officer of Justice (who then was) is a man fearing God, and of a tender Conscience, and who dare not allow that liberty to his tongue, which the Examiner often useth in this Discourse: He testifieth, he then spake with M<sup>r</sup>. Williams, and that he discerned no signe of sicknesse upon him, much lesse of neernesse unto death. He testifieth further, that upon the mourning complaint of some of M<sup>r</sup>. Williams his neighbours, who did adhere to him, he left onely the Warrant with him, but left him in his house to take the time for his departure limited in his warrant, which was not that night, though he doe not well remember how many dayes were set him. But this I have been given to understand, that the increase of concourse of people to him on the Lords dayes in private, to the neglect or deserting of publick Ordinances, and to the spreading of the Leaven of his corrupt imaginations, provoked the Magistrates rather then to breed a winters spirituall plague in the Countrey, to put upon him a winters journey out of the Countrey.<sup>31</sup> *Gangrænam amoveas, nè pars sincera trabatur.*

<sup>31</sup> Winthrop gives the following account, under date of January, 1636: "The governour and assistants met at Boston to consider about Mr. Williams, for that they were candidly informed, that, notwithstanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted him to stay till the spring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, he did use

to entertain company in his house, and to preach to them, even of such points as he had been censured for; and it was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was, because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narragansett Bay, from whence the in-

## TO CHAP. IX.

TO his 9<sup>th</sup> Chapter, I shall not need to returne any large Reply. Let him read over my words againe, which he examineth, and answereth in this Chapter, and they may serve for a just Reply unto his Answer, so farre as it is needfull.

Onely let me touch a Passage, or two. When he saith, *That after the first manifestation of the countenance of God, reconciled in the bloud of Christ unto his soule, it hath been with*

fection would easily spread into these churches, (the people being, many of them, much taken with the apprehension of his godliness.) Whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come presently to Boston, to be shipped &c. He returned answer, (and divers of Salem came with it,) that he could not come without hazard of his life, etc. Whereupon a pinnacle was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, etc., to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship, (which then rode at Nantascutt;) but, when they came to his house, they found he had been gone three days before, but whither they could not learn. Winthrop, 1, 175-176.

Winthrop adds: "He had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches, for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the ministers there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them." This statement clearly indicates that, up to this time, the prominent question in dispute was not that of religious toleration but fellowship with the English Churches. Compare with this the additional state-

ment of Winthrop, April 12: "The church of Salem was still infected with Mr. Williams, his opinions, so as most of them held it unlawful to hear in the ordinary assemblies of England, because their foundation was anti-christian, and we should, by hearing, hold communion with them; and some went so far as they were ready to separate from the Church upon it." Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 185.

The governor referred to by Winthrop was John Haynes, who was chosen in May, 1635. Thirty-five years after these events, Williams wrote to Major Mason: "And thus that heavenly man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, though he pronounced the sentence of my long banishment against me, at Cambridge, then New town, yet said unto me, in his own house at Hartford, being then in some difference with the Bay: 'I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confess to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been, we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied.'" See Pub. Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 50.

*him, as with one whom he saith, I told him off, his Questions, and Troubles have not been concerning his Reconciliation, and Peace with God, but concerning Sanctification, &c.*

I would it might please the Lord to perswade his heart, that, that one of whom I spake to him, was but one to whom the Lord [58] dispensed himselfe in that manner; and he a man, though he suffered much, and wrote much, yet no where magnified his sufferings, nor vilified the Authors of his sufferings: A man that cleaved to the Ordinances, and Saints of God, and not willing to manifest his dissent from his Brethren, no not there where he did dissent, as willing to attribute more to the judgements of other servants of God, then to arrogate to himselfe.

But surely the ordinary manner of Gods dispensation of himselfe to his servants, is otherwise; even to those that have been most precious in his sight. *Job* hath sometimes complained, that *God tooke him for his enemy*, Job 13. 24. 26. *David* sometimes complaineth, that *he was cut off from before Gods eyes*, Psal. 31. 22. And that God sometimes *hid his face from him*, Psal. 30. 7. That his soule was also *sore vexed* with the sence of Gods anger, and *hot displeasure*, Psal. 6. 1. 3. *Asaph* also complaineth of the same, in *Psal.* 77. and *Heman the Ezrahite* in *Psal.* 88. and *Hezekiah* in *Isai.* 38. If the Lord have dealt more indulgently with Mr. Williams, he hath the more cause to walke humbly, and circumspectly, and fruitfully before the Lord, which is the worst that I wish him. And let him also consider, that whilest he liveth under the Sunne, himselfe is not exempted from the dangerous Inmate of a deceitfull heart. As for Master Smith<sup>32</sup> he

<sup>32</sup> Rev. John Smyth, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. While a preacher in the city of Lincoln he was brought into contact with the Brownists, and

zealously espoused their principles. After enduring incessant persecution he fled to Holland in 1606, and joined the English church at Amsterdam, of which

standeth, and falleth to his own Master: whilest he was Preacher to the Citie of *Lincolne*, he wrought with God then: what temptations befell him after, by the evill workings of evill men, and some good men too, I choose rather to tremble at, then discourse of. If I had made use of his Principles, and Arguments, (as this Examiner saith I have) it is more then my selfe know: for I have not been acquainted with fundry of his writings, as being discouraged with that one, wherein he maketh Originall sinne an idle name. Albeit, I refuse not to learne from any man, as being conscious to my selfe of mine own emptinesse.

*But (saith the Examiner) whatsoever M<sup>r</sup>. Smiths Temptations, and Falls have been: yet that opinion of M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, or any, is most grievous to God, and man, and not comparable to any that ever M<sup>r</sup>. Smith could be charged withall: nor is any sinne comparably so grievous in Gods Davids, as a treacherous slaughter of the faithfull, whom wee are forced to call, Beloved in Christ.*

*Reply.* This is one of the Instances amongst many others, upon [59] which I was mooved to speake even now, that the Examiner alloweth more liberty to his tongue, then the Messenger of Justice, a man of tender Conscience, (of whom

Henry Ainsworth was teacher. (See, *post*, p. 119.) Soon after a serious breach took place, Mr. Smyth maintaining the opinions which were afterwards termed Arminian. He was the author of several treatises. So rigid, however, did his principles of Separation come to be, that he would not grant that even the baptism administered by ministers of the English church was valid, and becoming at the same time convinced that immersion was the only proper form, he remedied the defect, in his own case, by

plunging into the sea, whence he received the name of a Se-baptist. He was, by all accounts, an able and learned man, and his views have probably been much misrepresented. At least he said himself, "We disclaim the errors commonly, but most slanderously imputed to us." He died about the close of the year 1610. See Brooks, *Lives of the Puritans*, 2, 195. Neal's *Puritans*, vol. 1, p. 437, of the quarto ed. An attempt has been made to disprove the story of the baptism.

I spake) durst use. But when a man is delivered up to Satan, and neither his minde, nor conscience, nor tongue, nor pen, are his own, no marvell if he cast forth fire-brands, and arrowes, and mortall things, which I suppose a Publican, or Pagan would hardly utter, without some more colourable pretence then the Examiner hath to say, *That M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton is of opinion, that it is lawfull to commit a treacherous slaughter of the Saints, whom we are forced to call, Beloved in Christ.*

To the accusation I shall (God helping) make further Answer in his Place: Meane while, let the Examiner know, that I was not forced to call him, *Beloved in Christ*. That I did so stile him, it was out of indulgence of charitie, not out of any necessitie of dutie.

## TO CHAP. X.

**T**He residue of my Letter to M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* was taken up in remooving two stumbling blocks out of his way, which turned him off from fellowship with us. The former was, the want of fit matter of our Churches. The latter, our disrespect to the separate Churches in *England*. Our want of fit matter he acknowledged stood, not in this, that *we wanted godly persons to be the visible members of our Churches, (for with joy, he acknowledgeth that :) but in this, that all godly persons are not matter fit to constitute a Church, no more then Trees, or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to a Building.*

This exception of his seemed to me to imply a contradiction: for if the matter of our Churches were (such as himselfe acknowledged) godly persons, they were not then as Trees unfeld, nor as stones in the Quarry unbewen: for godlinesse cutteth men

*downe from their former roote, and beweth them out of the Pit of corrupt Nature, and fitteth them for fellowship with Christ, and with his People.*

The summe of his Answer is (though delivered in other words obscurely and confusedly, yet in sence) thus much ; That he accounteth our members, as Trees or Quarries, not for that they are not yet cut out of the pit or roote of naturall corruption, but for that they are not yet removed and clensed from actuall and Antichristian [60] pollution. *In which case, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Sampson, Job, David, Peter, in their drunkennesse, lying, whoredomes, cursings, murders, Perjuries, though they were godly persons: yet not fit members for Church estate. And so our Church-members, howsoever godly otherwise, yet through ignorance, and negligence, lying under Antichristian pollutions, ever since the Apostasie, are not fit members for Church-estate.*

*Reply. 1.* I doe willingly allow him to be the Interpreter of his own meaning: and doe easily grant him, that with that distinction, he salveth his contradiction. But yet let him remember, *his words were very unproper, to account godly Persons fallen into any actuall Pollution, to be matter fitted for a Church, no more then Trees or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to a Building.*

Wee are not wont, neither in common speech, nor in proper speech, to account such persons, as have been already cut off from the roote and pit of naturall corruption, to be no more then Trees and Quarries, though they have since fallen into actuall pollution; but we rather account them like Timber and Stones, cut out, and hewen, yet fallen into some mire by the breach of the Axeltree of their Carriage, and therefore fit to be washed before they be layed in the Building. But leave that, as it please him.



*Reply. 2.* He may doe well to confider, that the most of those Saints he nameth, were not as rude Trees and Quarries unproportioned to the Building, but as Trees of Righteousnesse, and living Stones, layed by God himselfe in the Building of his Church. But I easily grant him, that according to the Discipline of the Churches of Christ in the dayes of the Gospel, it were meete that godly persons falling into any grosse, and scandalous, and notorious pollution, they should first give satisfaction to the Church by profession of their Repentance, before they be received into holy fellowship with the Lord, and his People, in Church-communion. In which respect, if Christ be considered as head of the visible Church, he who is a member of the Church, (and so a member of Christ) may fall so foully into grosse sinne, and be so enthralled to it, as to be separate from the Church, yea and from Christ too, considered as the visible head of it. *And therefore the Examiner mistook himselfe, and me too, when he writeth, that I affirmed, that godly persons cannot be so enthralled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.* For I never denied, that godly persons may fall, as into other grosse 61] and notorious finnes; so also into grosse and notorious Antichristian Pollutions, so as to separate them from Church-Communion, yea and from Christ himselfe, as he is the Head of the visible Church.

*Reply. 3.* But to cleare the point more fully and plainly; Put the case, that the Saints whom the Examiner setteth forth in their pollutions, (as *Noah, Abraham, Lot, Sampson, Job, David, Peter,*) suppose, I say, they had openly professed their Repentance for their open scandalls, of drunkennesse, lying, incest, murder, &c. and all their other knowne scandalls, but had neither discerned nor bewayled the sinne of Polygamy: yea, suppose the Church with which they might

joyne, did neither discerne the necessitie, nor dutie of acknowledging that sinne, whether such Saints were to be refused from Church-communion, (as rude Trees and Quarries?) or if they were received as members into the Church, whether was such a Church to be separated from? If yea, we must look for new Rules for it out of a new Gospel. If no, then will the Examiner want a Rule for his separation from all the Churches in *New-England*.

For this is the very state of the Question, as the Examiner himselfe rehearseth it, in this Chapter. For he having objected, that *a necessitie lieth upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, and come out of the false Churches, worship, Ministry, Government, (according to Scriptures, Isai. 62. 11. 2 Cor. 6. 17.) And this to be done, not by a locall remoovall, but by a deliverance of the soule, understanding, will, judgement and affection, &c.*

He subjoyneth my Answer out of my Letter in these words;

1. *We grant, that it is not locall remoovall from former pollution, nor contrary practise, that fitteth us for fellowship with Christ, and his Church: but that it is necessary also, that we doe repent of such former Pollutions, wherewith we have been defiled and enthrallled.*

2. *We grant further, that it is necessary to Church-fellowship, that we should see and discerne all such pollutions, as doe so farre enthrall us to Antichrist, as to separate us from Christ. But this we profess unto you, that wherein we have reformed our practise, therein we have endeavoured unfainedly to humble our soules for our former contrary walking. If any through hypocrisie are wanting herein, the hidden hypocrisie of some will not prejudice the sinceritie, and faithfulnessse of others, nor the Church-estate of all.*

This though the Examiner doe rehearse it here in this Chapter: [62] yet here he answereth nothing to it, though it be the very hinge of the Controversie. If we meet with any Answer to it in the sequels, we shall (God willing) consider of it in its place.

Onely let me adde this third thing to cleare the state of the controversie more fully, That to this day we doe not see nor discern, that it is any Antichristian pollution at all, for a member of any of our Churches, going over into *England*, to heare the word Preached by a well-gifted Minister in the Parish Assemblies.

## TO CHAP. XI.

**I**N this Chapter, the Examiner propoundeth a second, third, fourth, and fifth Reason, to prove that, (which I deny not) to wit, *That a necessitie lyeth upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowship, truely to see and humbly to bewaile their spirituall bondage under Antichristian pollution, and withall to obtaine some power and strength from Jesus Christ to bring them out of it.*

This I say, I deny not, nor ever did. But this necessitie I conceive to be *Necessitas præcepti*, (as they call it, or *officii*) as that which is the commandment of God, and the duty of godly men to doe: But not *Necessitas medij ad finem*, such a necessitie, as without which a godly person cannot be a member of the Church, unlesse the spirituall bondage under Antichristian pollution, doe so farre enthrall him to Antichrist, as to separate him from Christ as he is the Head of the visible Church. Which what it is, we shall have fitter occasion to speake of in the sequels.

To his second Argument I would therefore Answer, that as an holy Altar and Temple to God, could not have been built to God in the midst of *Babylon*, but the Builders must come locally out of *Babel* to build it in *Hierusalem*: So a Church of Christ cannot be built to God, but by such Builders as spiritually come out of Antichristian pollutions and inventions, at least out of such pollutions as keepe them still in *Babel*, and detaine them under Antichrist, and separate them from Christ.

To his third Argument, I would grant all that he saith in it to be true: But how he applieth it to inferre his conclusion, he neither expresseth, nor is it easie for me to gather. If his meaning be, [63] that *Luther*, and other godly persons, might not be received into Church-fellowship in those dayes, because they saw not the bottomlesse gulfe of all those Antichristian corruptions, which the Lord hath since discovered; It is a conclusion that I durst not inferre, nor will he be ever able to make good. It is not alwayes full Moone in respect of spirituall light with every Church of God in all ages alike.

To his fourth Argument, taken from my own Practise; *In that I doe not receive all Persons, eminent for Grace and godlinesse, forthwith to the fellowship of the Lords Supper, till upon their entrance into Covenant, with a Confession of faith, &c.*

I would answer, it is not because I thinke such persons are not fit matter for Church estate; but because they yet want a fit Forme, requisite to Church-estate.

His last Argument, is taken from a famous Passage (as he calls it) of a *solemne Question put to me, and to the other New-English Elders, unto which I with the rest did answer Negatively, That if godly persons coming over hither did refuse to submit to our way of worship and Government, that then they could not onely not enjoy Church-fellowship together, but not be*

*permitted to breath and live in the same common ayre and Common-wealth together.*

To which I answer; 1. That it is fuitable to his wonted boldnesse, to affirme that of me which is more then he knoweth, and indeed more then is truth. For though he say, that M<sup>r</sup>. *Cotton*, and the New-English Elders returned that Answer: yet the answer to that Question, and to all the other thirty-two Questions, were drawne up by M<sup>r</sup>. *Mader*,<sup>33</sup> and neither drawne up nor sent by me, nor (for ought I know) by the other Elders here, though published by one of our Elders there. Howsoever, the substance of that Answer (not which M<sup>r</sup>. *Williams* rehearfeth, but which M<sup>r</sup>. *Mader* returned) doth generally suite with all our mindes, as I conceive.

2. In particular; The Answer which our reverend and beloved brother M<sup>r</sup>. *Mader* did returne unto that Question, I have read it, and did readily approve it (as I doe the substance of all his Answers) to be judicious, and solide. But this I must needs professe, that his Answer to this Question is notoriously slandered, and abused by the Examiner.

<sup>33</sup> This is a misprint. The Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, is meant. "The discourse about the *Church-Covenant*, and the answer to the *thirty-two* questions, both written in the year 1639, though they pass under the name of the ministers of New England, Mr. Mather was the sole author of them." See the Life of Mr. Richard Mather, in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*.

Richard Mather was born of an ancient but reduced family, in 1596. For many years he was a minister of the English Church, but having been twice suspended for non-conformity, he removed, at the urgent solicitation of Cot-

ton and Hooker, to New England. In 1636, he was ordained Teacher of the Church in Dorchester, and remained there until his death, April 22, 1669. In his old age he married the widow of Cotton, his son Increase, President of Harvard College, having married a daughter. From this latter union sprang Cotton Mather.

In 1844 the Journal of his Voyage was discovered in a box of old papers in Dorchester, and afterwards published by Dr. Young, in the "Chronicles of Mass." See also, Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 3, 440. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1, 586.

64] For 1. There is no word at all in that Answer, *that denieth permission to such godly persons to live and breath in the same ayre of the Common-wealth.* Let the Answer be perused; It is too long for me to transcribe; the Book is publicly extant, and obvious: and see if there be a syllable founding that way.<sup>34</sup>

2. In that Answer he distinguisheth (out of Mr. Cartwright,<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> In 1643, about the time of the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, the Answer of Mather was published in London, with the title, "Church Government and Church Covenant discussed, in an Answer of the Elders of the several Churches in New England to Two and Thirty Questions sent over to them by divers Ministers in England."

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Cartwright, the famous Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, whose lectures are justly regarded as the beginning of the second period of English Puritanism, was born about the year 1535, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. During the reign of Mary he pursued the study of law, but at the accession of Elizabeth he returned to the University, and, soon after, his great learning caused him to be elected fellow of Trinity College. In 1570, he commenced delivering a course of lectures upon Acts, in which he inculcated the unlawfulness of any form of church government, except that which the Apostles themselves had instituted. A strong effort was made by Archbishop Grindal to induce Cecil, who at that time was Chancellor of the University, to silence Cartwright and his adherents, but as the prudent statesman was inclined to act with moderation, the obnoxious professor was summoned before the Vice Chancellor, Whitgift, and on refusing

to revoke the opinions he had advanced, was removed from his position and forbidden to preach within the jurisdiction of the University. Cartwright soon after went abroad, and became minister of the English merchants at Antwerp.

His personal qualities combined with his great attainments to make him a formidable party leader. In 1572 he published his celebrated Admonition to the Parliament, calling on that body to reform the various abuses in the church. From this moment the contest ceased to be a mere quarrel about vestments, it involved the whole authority of the Anglican hierarchy. He was answered by Whitgift, and the controversy was continued for some time. Cartwright maintained that the Scriptures were the sole standard, not only for doctrine, but also for government and discipline.

Being summoned before the High Commission, Cartwright fled a second time to Antwerp, where he continued several years, until declining health forced him to return to his native country, when he was apprehended and thrown into prison. His old adversary, Whitgift, who was now Archbishop, released him, on promise of remaining quiet, and by the favor of the Earl of Leicester he was made Master of the Hospital at Warwick. He was once more before the High Commission in

and Mr. Parker)<sup>36</sup> touching matters of Church Discipline, and maketh some to be the substantiall and immutable, others of a more accidentall and circumstantiall nature.

In the former, *he doubteth not but that we and all the godly Ministers in England should accord (if they were here;) as beleeving, that either we should satisfie them in our way, or they us in theirs; so as there would never be Question, whether we should embrace one another as Sister-Churches.*

In the latter, to wit, in matters circumstantiall, we are all taught of God, *Placide ferre aliud sentientes.*

3. When the Examiner maketh it his own case, *not to be permitted to live and breath in the same ayre and Commonwealth, though M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, and others, most incensed, gave him a testimony of godlinesse, &c.*

Let him be pleased to look back, to what hath been formerly laid open, and he will finde this Instance of himselfe wholly impertinent. For the casting of him out of the Com-

1590, and again was cast into prison. During his confinement, King James, of Scotland, warmly interceded in his behalf, but he was not released for some time. The remainder of his days were passed at Warwick, where he died Dec. 27, 1603. Abundant mention of Cartwright may be found in Strype and Neal; see also Hallam, Cons. Hist. Eng., ch. 4.

<sup>36</sup> The Rev. Robert Parker became rector of a church in Essex in 1571. He was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He was afterwards beneficed at Wilton, in Wiltshire, where he remained many years. By the publication of a Treatise on the Crofs in Baptism he was involved in difficulties with Archbishop Bancroft, and fleeing to Holland, would have been chosen minister of the

English Church at Amsterdam, had not the magistrates been afraid of displeasing James First. He then removed to Doefburg, where, soon after, he died, in 1614.

The most important of his works was a treatise "*De Politia Ecclesiastica*," in which he advanced opinions like those of Cartwright. "We hold," said he, "that Christ alone is the doctor or teacher of the church in matters of religion; and that the word of Christ, which he hath given to his church, is of absolute perfection, containing all parts of true religion, both for substance and ceremony, and a perfect direction in all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever, unto which it is not lawful for any man or angel to add, or from which to detract." See Neal, vol. 1, pp. 436, 456. Brooks's Lives, 2, 237.

mon-wealth, sprung not from his difference in matters of Church Discipline.<sup>37</sup> It was well knowne that whilest he lived at *Salem*, he neither admitted, nor permitted any Church-members, but such as rejected all Communion with the Parish Assemblies, so much as in hearing of the Word amongst them. And this libertie he did use and might have used to this day, without any disturbance to his Civill or Church-Peace, (save onely in a way of brotherly disquisition;) but it was his Doctrines and Practises which tended to the Civill disturbance of the Common-wealth, together with his heady and busie pursuite of the same, even to the rejection of all Churches here.

<sup>37</sup> Compare the following passage from Cotton's Treatise "Of the Holinesse of Church-Members," London, 1650. "The objector is too credulous, if he believes every such fabulous report, *That we exclude any from our Churches whom we grant to be truly gracious and elect.* We exclude none such, and much lesse, upon this ground alone, *Because they cannot approve of our Independency and Covenant.* We have received some members in our Churches, who are not onely Presbyteriall in judgment, but Episcopall also. Nor do I know, that even we refused any approved godly person upon point of difference in judgment about Church-government. Nor do we pinch upon any godly man's conscience in point of Covenant, in case he be willing to professe his subjection to Christ in his Church according to the order of the Gospel. Nor do we limit him to our own way of the order of the Gospel, but as it shall be cleared and approved to his own conscience." p. 60.

This Treatise of Cotton, designed as a reply to Baylie's "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," was addressed "To my honored, worshipfull, and worthy

Friends, the Mayor, and Justices, the Aldermen and Common Councell, together with the whole Congregation and Church at Boston." After the abolition of Episcopal church government in England, Cotton had been invited to return and resume his old position. A passage in this preface furnishes an interesting proof of the affectionate intercourse that had always been maintained between Cotton and his former parish. "And ever since that time wherein the strong hand of the Lord, and the malignancy of the times, had set this vast distance of place, and great gulf of Seas between us: yet still you claimed an interest in me, and have yeerly ministered, some reall testimony of your love: and at last when the Lord (of his rich grace) had dispelled the storme of malignant Church-government, you invited me again and again, to return to the place and work wherein I had walked, before the Lord and you in former times." Perhaps it was this "yeerly" ministrations that enabled Cotton to say "I have neither abounded in superfluities, nor, (through mercy) have been long destitute of necessities." *ante*, p. 55.



These they were that made him unfit for enjoying Communion either in the one state, or in the other. When he reckoneth me, and me onely by name, (as one of the most incensed against him) I reckon it as one of his usuall exorbitant Hyperboles: unlesse by *Incensed*, he meane one that with some others, were most kindled, [65] and stirred up to endeavour his satisfaction. And then his terme *Incensed*, though it be not an Hyperbole, yet it is an Acurology.

Neither doe I remember, that he hath any cause to say, *I gave him a Testimony of godlinesse*.

For his godlinesse, I leave it to him who is the searcher of hearts: I neither attested it, nor denied it.

Every brother in the Church, though he may be called a brother in Christ, as Christ is the Head of the visible Church: and being cast out of the Church, though he may be admonished as a Brother, and so have some reference still to Christ, yet godlinesse requireth a Participation of the Divine Nature, (I speake in *Peters* sence, 2 *Pet.* 1. 4.) by the power of the Spirit of Grace, conforming us to fellowship with Christ, and his Churches: the which things have not so evidently appeared to me, (I speak it with griefe) either in his spirit, or in his way these many yeares.<sup>38</sup> And yet I deny not, others may discern more Power of Godlinesse in him, then I doe,

<sup>38</sup> This most uncharitable remark, only too characteristic of the religious controversies of that age, is explained by some observations of Cotton on page 11. From a comparison of the two passages it is sufficiently clear that what prevents Cotton from recognizing the "Power of Godlinesse" in Williams is the position which the latter had assumed with regard to the outward ordinances of religion. Cotton seems to have been singularly blinded to those practical proofs of

a "Participation of the Divine Nature," which secured for Williams, through all his troubles, the steady friendship of Winthrop, and which elicited a cordial recognition from "that great and pious soul," Edward Winslow. See Preface, p. 7. The best indication of the purity and elevation of the religious life of Williams is furnished in the remarkable tract which forms a part of the present volume, the "Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health."

and may speake of him accordingly. But it was no uncharitable speech of *Paul*, to tell the *Galatians*, and that before all the Churches, that he stood in feare of them, *Gal.* 4. 10. The life of faith (from whence springeth both the truth, and the Power of Godlinesse) is very repugnant to Self-fulnesse, *αυθαδεια*; Faith emptieth a man of self-confidence, and maketh him apt to acknowledge with *Agur*, *Truely I am more foolish then any man*, *Prov.* 30. 2. But the Lord help us to tremble before him: If he leave us (though but a while) to our selves, we can soone learne to reigne as Kings, (like the *Corinthians*) without Church-Officers, or the Ordinances of Christ, *1 Cor.* 4. 8.

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TO CHAP. XII.

**H**IS 12<sup>th</sup> Chapter is taken up in Examining and Answering a speech of mine, *That godly persons are not so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to separate from Christ: Else they could not be godly persons.*

His Answer is, *That this cometh not neere the Question, which is not concerning personall godlinesse, or Grace in Christ, but the godlinesse or Christianitie of worship.*

66] Whereupon he distinguisheth of Christ, as considered two waies: 1. *Personally, as God-man, &c.* 2. *As Head of his Church.* In the former sence (he acknowledgeth) they cannot be so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to be separate from Christ: in the latter they may.

*Reply.* This distinction of Christ is inconveniently expressed, as was the like once before. For the *membra dividenda*, the parts of the division are coincident. Christ as God-man is the Head of the visible Church. But his meaning I apprehend

hend, and accept. Christ God-man is Head both of the invisible Church, and of the visible; As he is Head of the invisible Church, so he is received by faith: As he is head of the visible, so he is received by profession of the true faith, both of the grace of faith, and of the Doctrine of faith. The proper fruit whereof is holy worship, and professed subjection to the Rule of the Gospel.<sup>39</sup>

Now for his application of his Distinction, in the generall I doe approve it, and doe willingly acknowledge, that a godly person may be (through ignorance, or negligence) so farre enthralled to Antichrist, as to be separate from Christ, taking Christ as Head of the visible Church. For he may fall into such fundamentall Antichristian corruption, in Doctrine, or Worship, or Government, as either may justly prevent his admission into the Church, or being in the Church, and yet (through pang of Temptation) continuing obstinate

<sup>39</sup> "And whence is all that spiritual power and life, which the people of God do ordinarily finde in all the visible Churches of the Saints, in all their holy administrations, if Christ be not the head of those visible Churches, and if the holy Ghost dwell not in them. Mr. Baily may speak long enough of our leading men towards Anabaptisme, and and Socinianisme: but (to speak the truth, as conscience constraineth me before the Lord) if I should intend to drive men to Enthusiasme, and Familisme (which is the worst kinde of Anabaptisme, and Socinianisme) I should take no other course, but these principles chiefly; why do men stand so much upon visible Churches, and their purity? They are neither temples of the holy Ghost, nor members of Christ, nor children of God almighty: these glorious

stiles belong not to them, but to an hidden invisible company of Saints scattered universally, and invisibly all the world over. And will not these strengthen the hands of Seekers and Familists, to seek Christ (where he may be found in true spirituall life) in deserts and secret chambers? Matth. 24. 26. what stand we upon visible Churches, or ordained Elders, or censures? These are husks, and shels: the kernel, and Spirit of life lyeth in an hidden society. But surely it is neither good nor safe to pluck away from the visible Churches of Saints, I say not, these ornaments, and vails: but their very vitals, and cordials, which is the fellowship of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost breathing amongst them." See Cotton's Treatise "Of the Holiness of Church-Members," London, 1650: p. 48.

in his corruption after conviction, he may justly be excommunicate out of the Church. But lest I may seeme to hover (and so to vanish) in Generalities, whilest I onely speake of Antichristian corruptions in generall: I shall willingly Instance in some Particulars, which may give light to others of like nature. It is an Antichristian corruption in Doctrine, to accept any Propitiatory Sacrifices for our reconciliation, but the death of Christ only.

It is a like corruption, to look for Justification from sinne in the sight of God by our own works.

It is an Antichristian corruption in worship, to worship Angels, or Saints, or Images.

It is an Antichristian corruption in Government, to take the Pope to be the Head of the Church: and such an Head as hath Power to make Laws to binde the Conscience, to authorize Scripture to be Canonically, to adde other Books to Scripture with like Authoritie, to be himselfe the onely Authentickall Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controversies.

67] These and the like corruptions are such as make Antichrist a Sonne of Perdition, and them that are led by him to fall into like Perdition with him. Of one of these Points *Paul* saith, They that hold it, hold not the Head, *Col.* 2. 18, 19. Of another of these *Paul* saith, They that hold it are abolished from Christ, *Gal.* 5. 4. The like wee may say of all the rest. Yet in times of former darknesse, some of the faithfull members of Christ, might and were for a time entangled with a yoke of Bondage, in some, or most, or all of these Particulars: out of which the Lord at length rescued them by variety of Temptations, and by some breaking forth of light in the mouths of some of his witnesses in every age.

But whilest any of them walked in these, or like corruptions, they might justly be debarred from admission into

Church-fellowship: or standing fast in them after conviction, they might justly be cast forth out of Church-fellowship.

But there be other corruptions, and Antichristian corruptions too, which because they doe not subvert the Foundation, neither of faith, nor of Church-order, I would not say that they separate from Christ, no not as he is the Head of the visible Church. For then if some whole Church were leavened with them, they might soone cease to be a Church. But we see the contrary in Scripture, the High Places were tolerated in *Judah*, and yet *Judah* ceased not to be a Church: And by like proportion some more high and eminent Power may be given by some Churches to their Officers, (according to an Antichristian Patterne in some measure) and yet they not cease to be a Church. *David* and all the Congregation of *Israel* might bring up the Arke of God in a Cart, (after the manner of the *Philistims*) and yet not disanull their Church-estate: And by like proportion, so may a Church of Christ take up some orders, (as the carting of some part of their worship upon a Book) after the manner of Antichrist, and yet not forthwith evacuate their Church-estate.

But this let me further adde, that a godly person may have some kinde of communion, so farre as hearing the word from a Minister well gifted by Christ, to whose calling some corruption may cleave, both in his Church-estate, and in his Ordination: And yet neverthelesse, no Antichristian Pollution at all may cleave or redound to the hearer by his hearing of him. And this being the [68] Principall Exception w<sup>ch</sup> the Examiner taketh against some of the members of our churches, & against all the churches for their sakes, we shall further (God willing) cleare when the Examiner putteth it upon us in the sequele. Meane while, we professe as we doe beleve, that such an action is not any Church-cómunión

with Antichrist, nor doth so enthrall the People of God unto Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ, no not as he is Head of the visible Church.

The Answer which (upon occasion of this Point) the Examiner giveth to the Papists Question, (*Where was your Church before Luther?*) though it seeme to him well and good: yet it gratifieth the Papists, and straitneth the holy Counsell of God in Scripture. *The Question*, saith he, *is thus well answered*, to wit, *That since the Apostasie of Antichrist, Truth, and the holy Citie, (according to the Prophecy, Rev. 11. & 13.) have been troden under-foot, and the whole Earth hath wandered after the Beast; yet God hath stirred up witnesses to Prophecy in sackcloth against the Beast, during his 42 moneths Reigne. Neverthelesse, these witnesses have in their times more or lesse submitted to Antichrist, and his Church, Worship, Ministry, &c. And so consequently have been ignorant of the true Church, that is, Christ taken for the Church in the true Profession of that holy way of worship, which he himselfe at first appointed.* This Answer giveth away the cause to the Papists. They demand, *Where was your Church before Luther?* This Answer giveth it for granted, that since the Apostasie there was no particular church extant in the world. This fully fatisfieth their desire, and expectation: for if there were no Church of Christ in the world, for so many Centuries of yeares till *Luther*, then they readily conclude, That their Church of *Rome* was (before *Luther*) the onely Church in the world. For they urge it, (and I know not how we can fairely deny it) that the Church of Christ, even that Church to which the keys of the kingdome are committed, (which is the visible Church) is that against which the *Gates of Hell* shall not be able to prevaile, and so not all the Power of Antichrist. If then the visible Church of Christ shall never cease,

and yet during all that time of the Apostasie of Antichrist, no Church was extant in the world, but the Church of *Rome*, then during all that time (which is not yet expired) the Church of *Rome* is, and hath been the onely Church of Christ these many ages. Besides, as this Answerer gratifieth the Papist, and maketh the promise of Christ (*Mat.* 16. 18, 19,) of none effect: so it [69] straitneth the Counsell of God in the very Texts of Scripture alledged by himself. For in that Text (*Rev.* 11.) where the outward Court is given to the Gentiles, (that is, Ecclesiasticall Courts, given to Antichrist & his Clergy) *v.* 2. There also a rod or reed is given by the Angel unto *John*, to measure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and them that worship therein, *v.* 1. Which evidently holdeth forth that even then there was somewhere extant the Temple, that is, the visible Church of Christ, which had communion with Christ as Head of the Church, there called *The Altar, and the Temple*, was furnished with true worshippers, and all measured according to the Patterne of Apostolicall Rule. What if Ecclesiasticall Stories be deficient in telling us the times and places of their Church-Assemblies? Is therefore the Word of God deficient, or the Church deficient, because humane Stories are deficient? Great hath been the industry and vigilancy of Satan and Antichrist, to blot out (as much as in them lay) all Monuments and Records of such holy Assemblies: but yet sometimes their own Inquisitors confesse, that the Churches of the *Waldenses*, or men of that way, have been extant *a tempore Apostolorum*.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, evident it is, that when the Dragon persecuted the woman, (that is, the Church) the Church fled into the Wildernes, *and was there nourished for a time, and times,*

<sup>40</sup> The peculiar views of Williams respecting the Church, to which Cotton here refers, have been explained in Note 21, page 45, *ante*.

*and halfe a time, (Rev. 12. 14.) which is all the time, wherein the Beast reigned, Rev. 13. 5. And wherein the Gentiles, having obtained Rule in the Court, trod downe the holy Citie under-foote, Rev. 11. 2.*

Moreover, evident also it is, that all the Angels (or Ministers) of Gods wrath that poured out their Vials upon the Antichristian State, did all of them issue forth out of the Temple, and out of the Temple as then opened, *Rev. 15. 5, 6.* Which argueth that the Temple or Church was not onely then visible, but openly visible: not visible onely to the secret Assembly of the true worshippers, but openly conspicuous to them that had not seene it before. Now how all those seven Angels should come out of the Temple, and it openly visible, and all of them poure out their Vials upon the Antichristian State by seven Degrees, to the utter desolation of it: and yet no Church extant, either before *Luther*, or since *Luther*, till the utter extirpation of Antichrist, passeth all my comprehension.

70]

## TO CHAP. XIII.

**H**IS 13<sup>th</sup> Chapter is taken up in Examining and Answering a second Answer, which I gave to his Objection propounded above in Chap. 10. The Answer was this, as he setteth it downe.

*Secondly, we deny that it is necessary to Church-fellowship, (that is so necessary, that without it a Church cannot be) That the members admitted thereunto, should all of them see, and expressely bewaile all the pollutions which they have been defiled with in their former Church-fellowship, Ministry, worship,*



*Government, &c.*<sup>41</sup> *If they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did enthrall them to Antichrist, so, as to separate them from Christ: and withall be ready in preparation of heart, as they shall see more light, so to hate more and more every false way. This we conceive to be as much, as is necessarily required to separate them from Antichrist unto fellowship with Christ, and his Churches, &c.*

For Answer hereunto, the Examiner desireth three things to be observed:

1. *M<sup>r</sup>. Cottons own Confession of that two-fold Church-estate, worship, &c. The former false: or else why to be so bewailed and forsaken? The second true, to be embraced and submitted to.*

*Reply.* This observation is more then is intended, or can justly be gathered from my words: For even a true Estate of a Church, Worship, Ministry, &c. may be bewailed, though not in regard of the falshood of the estate, yet in regard of the pollutions that cleaved to it, which were as so many false wayes in the Administration of it.

2. The second thing, which he would have to be observed, is my own confession of that which a little before I would

<sup>41</sup> It should be remembered that Williams, on first coming to New England, "had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there." See Winthrop, 1, 53.

Winthrop here uses the expression, "churches" of England, while in the "Humble Request," published in London immediately after the sailing of the *Arbella*, and which in all probability proceeded from his pen, (see *Life* and

*Letters of Winthrop, 1630-1649*), the expression "Church of England" occurs in the well known passage in which he speaks of his Company, "as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother." p. 11. Is this change of expression to be regarded as accidental, or had Winthrop, at this time, adopted the Congregational theory? By taking part in the ordination of Wilton, (see *post*, p. 77, note 45,) he certainly recognized the distinction between National and Parishional churches.

make so odious in him to hold, to wit, *That Gods People may be so farre enthralled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.* For these were my words; *If they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did enthrall them to Antichrist, so as to separate them from Christ.*

*Reply.* 1. His expressions of himselfe in that Point were so incommodious, as that a plaine Reader, (such as my selfe, unwonted to heare such language, in his sence) could not easily conceive, *that he speaking of godly persons, no lesse unfit for Church-fellowship, then Trees and Quarries unfit for a Building.*

71] I say, I could not easily conceive, that by Trees and Quarries should be meant any other persons then unregenerate: and it seemed to me, to imply a contradiction, to call them ungodly, who were unregenerate.

*Reply.* 2. The Examiner wrongeth himselfe and me, to say, *That I would have made it odious in him, to say that godly persons cannot be so enthralled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.* The odiousnesse he speaketh of is a contradiction: And it was himselfe, not I, that forged that contradiction, as hath been shewed above.

*Reply.* 3. My words out of which he gathereth this observation, are misreported: and the contradiction ariseth from his misreport, not from my words. For Gods People, and godly persons are not all one. Any Church-members may be called Gods People, as being in externall Covenant with him, (*Psal.* 81. 11.) and yet they are not alwayes godly persons. Gods People may be so enthralled to Antichrist, as to separate them utterly from Christ, both as Head of the visible, and invisible Church also. But godly persons cannot be so enthralled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ, as the Head of the invisible Church: though, as I said before,

they may be separated from him, as the Head of the visible Church.

3. The third thing which the Examiner would have to be observed in my words, is, *How easily a soule may wander in his generalls: for thus I write, though they see not all the pollutions, wherewith they have been defiled in their former Church-fellowship: Againe, if they did see so much as did enthrall them to Antichrist, and separate them from Christ. And yet (saith he) he expresseth nothing of that, all the pollutions, nor what so much is, as will separate them from Christ.*

*Reply.* 1. Though these words might seeme generall to a stranger, who knew nothing of the occasion of them: yet to the Examiner himselfe, (to whom in private I writ them) it was easie and obvious to poynt with the finger, at the particular I intended in these. He knoweth the Question was; *Whether the bearing of the Ministers of the Parishes in England, was such an Antichristian pollution, as either to cut off such persons from Church-fellowship, or the Churches themselves from Christ.* Our Answer was; 1. That it was no Antichristian pollution at all: 2. If it were, it was more then either our members, or our Churches yet saw, or were convinced of: and then generall confessions, and generall repentance would serve for unknowne [72] sinnes. To the same purpose, is this generall Answer framed here: which himselfe well knoweth upon what particular occasion it grew, and to what particular case it had reference.

*Reply.* 2. Besides, why should we count the Answer as wandring in Generalities, when it was fitted to his generall Objection? His Objection was *Chapt. 10. That a necessitie lay upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, come out of the false Churches, Worship, Ministry, Government.*

Now here are onely generall words: no particular mention of the falshoods that lye in the Churches, Worship, Ministry, Government. Why should he blame wandring in Generalitie in the Answer, when his own Objection wandereth in the like Generalities.

*Reply.* 3. If he please to look back to the Reply given in his 12. Chapter, he may finde me plaine and punctuall in Instancing in particulars. But thus having passed over his Observations upon my former Answer, he now cometh to returne Answer to me, by demanding a Question or two, to wit, 1. *Whether if a godly person remaine a member of a falsely constituted Church, and so consequently (in that respect) of a false Christ, whether in visible worship he be not separate from the true Christ?*

*Answer.* That I may not delude neither him, nor my selfe, by answering to obscure and ambiguous termes, I would know (by some that understand his speech) what he meaneth by a *falsely constituted Church*: or else give me leave to explaine the termes my selfe. There be but two two things intrinsically necessary to the constitution of any thing, & so of a Church, to wit, a fit matter, and a fit forme. The matter of a Church are visible Saints, Professors of the faith of Christ.<sup>42</sup> The forme, is an holy Covenant, or Agreement,

<sup>42</sup> Compare Cotton's "Way of the Churches of Christ in New England," Chapter 1: Proposition 1.; "That the Church which Christ in his Gospell hath instituted, and to which he hath committed the keys of his kingdom, the power of binding or loosing, the tables and seals of the Covenant, the Officers and censures of his Church, the administration of all his public Worship and Ordinances, is, *Cætus fidelium*, a Communion of Saints, a Combination of

faithfull godly men, meeting for that end, by common and joynt consent, into one Congregation; which is commonly called a *particular visible Church*. For the Church to the which Christ committed the power of binding and loosing, was a company of such (as whereof *Peter* was one,) Beleevers professing that faith on Christ, whereon (as on a rock) the Church is built, Mat. 16. 18, 19. and such as unto whom *Peter*, or any brother offended, might (in due order) tell the

(either explicite or implicate) to joyne together in one Congregation, to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another in the Administration of his holy Ordinances.<sup>43</sup> Now if in stead

offence which any brother had given him, & persisted in, *Mat.* 18. 17. And the Church of *Corinth*, to which the Apostles commendeth the casting out of the Incestuous *Corinthian*, (1 *Cor.* 5.) was such a Church, of which the Apostle saith, *They were Saints by calling, sanctified by Jesus Christ*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 2. and all of them, even the whole Church, did meet together every Lords day, in one place, for the Administration of the holy Ordinances of God, to publick Edification, 1 *Cor.* 14. 23. & 16. 1, 2. Which frequent meeting every Lords day in one place, to such ends, cannot possibly be compatible to any Diocesan, Provinciall, or Nationall Assembly."

This important Treatise was "Published according to Order," at London, in the year 1645, with an "Epistle to the Reader" prefixed, signed with the initials N. H. and I. H. It was part of the movement against the Presbyterians occasioned by the misunderstanding relative to the meaning of the adoption of the "Solemn League and Covenant" by the Westminster Assembly. The Presbyterians held this proceeding to be equivalent to the adoption of their entire church polity, which the Independents would not admit. In 1644, Goodwin and Nye, two leaders of the Independents, published Cotton's "Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," with a preface in which they say: "As for our selves, we are yet, neither afraid nor ashamed to make profession (in the midst of all the high waves on both sides dashing on us) that the substance of this brief Extract from the Author's longer Discourse, is

that very *Middle-Way* (which in our Apologie we did in the generall intimate and intend) between that which is called *Brownisme*, and the *Presbyteriall-government*, as it is practised." The Editors of the "Way of the Churches," say in their "Epistle to the Reader," "Least any should imagine, that everything in the *Keyes* doth not fit all the wards in this Treatise to a hair, wee will here insert Mr. Cottons own words, in his Letter coming from him in *New England* to our hands in the very nick of time, while this Epistle lay under the Presse; viz. 'If you think the Draught of CHURCH DISCIPLINE, which was sent over in your Ship, varieth from that of the POWER OF THE KEYES, sent over the yeare after; you may have some occasion so to conceive from some difference of Expression in LOGICAL TERMES, but not a jote in any DOCTRINE OF DIVINITY, or CHURCH-PRACTISE.' So Mr. Cotton in his Letter to Mr. R. W." Baylie's "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," was one of the replies to Cotton's treatise.

<sup>43</sup> "For the joyning of faithfull Christians into the fellowship and estate of a Church, we finde not in Scripture that God hath done it in any other way than by entering all of them together, (as one Man) into an holy Covenant with himselfe, To take the Lord (as the head of his Church) for their God, and to give up themselves to him, to be his Church and people; which implyeth their submitting of themselves to him, and one to another in his feare; and their walking in professed subjection to all his holy Ordinances: their cleaving one to an-

of visible Saints professing the Name of Christ, there be a company of prophane persons, Idolaters, Hereticks, that shall covenant, or agree together to joyne in a Congregation to worship Idolls, and to build up one another in Heresie, and Apostasie; This is *Ecclesia Malignantium*, a false constituted Church: And consequently, the Head of this Church is a false Christ, and every member of this Church, who joyneth 73] with them in this way, is in visible worship, separate from the true Christ.

In this sence, I would answer to the Examiners first Question, Affirmatively.

His second Question then is, *Whether it be not absolutely necessary to a godly persons uniting with the true Church, (that is, with Christ in true Christian worship) that he see and bewaile, and absolutely come out from that former false Church, or Christ, and his Ministry, Worship, &c. before he can be united to the true Israel?*

*Ans.* I would readily answer this Question, Affirmatively

other, as fellow members of the same body, in brotherly love and holy watchfulness unto mutuall edification in Christ Jesus."

"Neither is there any colour to conceive this way of entering into Church estate by Covenant, to be peculiar to the Pædagoꝑy of the Old Testament; for it is evident by the light of nature, that all civill Relations are founded in Covenant. For, to passe by naturall Relations between Parents and Children, and violent Relations between Conquerors and Captives; there is no other way given whereby a people (*sui Juris*) free from naturall and compulsory engagements, can be united or combined together in the visible, to stand by mutuall Relation, fellow members of the same body, but

only by mutuall Covenant; as appeareth between husband and wife in the family, Magistrates and subjects in the Common-wealth, fellow Citizens in the same Citie." "The Way of the Churches," pp. 2, 4.

This passage is important not only as illustrating Cotton's ecclesiastical opinions, but also for the light it casts upon his action with reference to Williams. Attaching as he did so much significance to the Covenant relation, he could but view Williams's wilful separation from the Salem Church as an act in violation of the first principles on which society was founded. It is clear that this proceeding of Williams was the turning point in Cotton's relations with him. See *ante*, pp. 30, 39, 46.

also, unlesse there be a fallacy in the latter absolutely. For his Question is, *Whether it be not absolutely necessary unto uniting with a true Church, to see, and bewaile, and come out absolutely from the false Church, or Christ, or Ministry, or Worship, &c.* This latter absolutely, if it imply no more then coming out altogether from all that separateth from true Christ, I grant it absolutely: but if he meane coming out from every thing of theirs, say from every good gift, yea from every error amongst them, which doth not separate from Christ, and then I deny that it is absolutely necessary, either to see or bewaile all, or in that sence absolutely to come out of all.

His similitudes brought to the contrary, may perswade a selfe-pleasing fancy, but will not convince nor satisfie any solid Judgement. Might not the *Israelites* that came out of *Ægypt*, borrow Jewells of silver and gold from the *Ægyptians*, yea and carry up also a mixed multitude of People, and yet build a Tabernacle to the Lord in the Wildernesse? *Exod.* 12. 35. to 38. Might not the *Jewes* come out of *Babel*, and accept from all the People, where they had sojourned, vessells of silver, and gold, with goods and beasts, and other precious things, and yet build a Temple at *Hierusalem*? *Ezra* 1. 4, 5, 6. May not a soule be married to Christ, and yet his former husband (his corrupt nature) not be so absolutely dead, as the husband of a wife must be, before shee can be lawfully married to another?

The Graft cut off from one tree, may be engrafted to another: and yet carry forth his old leaves with him. The kingdome of Christ that is cut off from the Romane Monarchy, may yet for a time have some entercourse with the Romane Monarchy.

The *Corinthians*, though united with Christ, and washed

from [74] their former Idolatry, as well as from other finnes: yet still were defiled with communion in Idols Temples, and with Fornication.

The *Theſſalonians* turned from their former Idolls, to ſerve the living and true God: yet they had ſome amongſt them, that walked inordinately after their entrance into Church-eſtate, as well as before, 2 *Theſ.* 3. 6. Beſides, for a further answer to his ſimilitudes, the Examiner may remember, that though *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt* locally, before they could ſacrifice to God in the Wildernes, yet in their hearts and ſoules they were ſtill for *Ægypt*, *Exod.* 14. 11, 12. Yea and for *Ægyptian* Idolls, *Act.* 7. 39. *Ezek.* 20. 7, 8. which is more then we doe allow to our ſelves.<sup>44</sup>

#### TO CHAP. XIV.

**H**IS 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter is ſpent in Examining and answering a Reason that I gave of my ſecond Answer to his Objection, which was propounded and cleared in the former Chapter. The Reason was this. *The Church of Chriſt received many thouſand Jewes, who beleaved on the Name of Chriſt,*

<sup>44</sup> The ground taken by Cotton in the preceding diſcuſſion is preciſely identical with the poſition all along held by the leaders of the Independent party in England, who ſpared no pains to remove from themſelves the reproach of narrow ſectarianiſm which had been incurred by the early Separatiſts. Thus in "An Apologetical Narration, humbly ſubmitted to the Honorable Houſes of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpſon, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge," the admiſſion

is freely made that even in the worſt times of the Church of England, "Multitudes of the aſſemblies and parochial congregations thereof were the true churches and body of Chriſt, and the miniſtry a true miniſtry; and that they both had held and would hold communion with them as the churches of Chriſt." See Hetherington's Hiſt. of the Weſtmiſter Aſſembly, p. 159. The "Quæries" of Williams, to which alluſion is made on page 2, *ante*, were called forth by this "Apologetical Narration."



*although they were still zealous of the Law, and saw not the beggarly emptinesse of Moses his Ceremonies, Aēt. 21. 20. And the Apostle Paul directeth the Romans to receive such unto them, as were weake in the faith, and saw not their liberty from the servile difference of Meats and Dayes, but still lay under the bondage of the Law. Yea he wished them to receive such upon this ground, because Christ had received them, Rom. 14. 1. to 6. And lest it should be objected, there was not the like danger of lying under bondage to Moses, as to Antichrist; It was said, that even the bondage under Moses was such, as that if it were continued in, after instruction and conviction, it would separate them from Christ, (Gal. 5. 2.) and bondage under Antichrist could doe no more.*

For Answer hereto, the Examiner would have two things to be carefully minded:

1. *That the Ordinances of Moses were sometimes the Ordinances of God: and when they were to vanish, they were to be taken away with solemnity. The Ordinances of Antichrist were the Inventions of Satan, and from first to last never to be received, nor submitted to, no not for a moment.*

75] 2. *He would have the difference of times to be observed, (which saith he, M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton himselfe confesseth) after instruction and conviction, Moses Law was deadly, and would separate from Christ. Therefore there was a time, when they were not deadly, and did not separate from Christ, to wit, untill Moses was honorably fallen asleep, &c. To apply then, Paul observed a vow, and the Ceremonies of it, Circumcised Timothy, &c. May therefore a Messenger of Christ now (as Paul) goe to Masse, Pray to Saints, performe Pennance, keepe Christmasse, and other Popish Feasts, and Fasts? &c.*

*Reply. 1. I never heard or read till now, that Paul ever went to Masse, Prayed to Saints, kept Christmasse, or the*

like: nor did I ever imagine, that any ingenuous minde would thinke that ever it came into my heart to plead for such things now, or for the retaining of any Popish Rite at all. But the wit and lip of man being let loose, and left to it selfe, may inferre *quodlibet ex quolibet*.

If it be said, his Parenthesis (as *Paul*) had reference onely to a Messenger of Christ, (as *Paul*) not to any such like act of *Paul*, then his Argument is no more conclusive then a *Baculo ad Angulum*. What colour were there that any man now should plead *Pauls* example, to doe that now, which *Paul* never did, nor any thing like it?

*Reply.* 2. The Examiner requireth two things here to be carefully minded: In answer whereto, I desire but one thing to be carefully minded: to wit, to what end, I alledged the ignorance of the *Jewes* in the Primitive times, and the indulgence of the Christian Churches, for receiving them into Church-fellowship, notwithstanding such ignorance: And then see, if it doe not inferre that which I brought it for.

If in the Primitive times, the ignorance of the *Jewes* in many waighty Points of Religion, and some of them fundamentall, did not hinder their receiving into Christian Church-fellowship, nor disannull their Church-estate (who so received them) then it is not so necessary to Church-fellowship, as that without it a Church cannot be, that the Members admitted thereunto, should all of them see and expressly bewaile, all the pollutions, wherewith they have been defiled in their former Church-fellowship, Ministry, Worship, Government, &c. But the former is true, as hath been opened from *Acts* 21. 20. *Rom.* 14. 1. to 6. *Gal.* 5. 2. To which [76] may be added, *Acts* 15. 5. with 24. Where it appeareth some of the members of the Church and of the Synod, held forth such Doctrine and Worship, touching the necessitie of Circum-

cision, and observation of the Law, as tended to the subversion of foules: and yet neither their membership, nor the Estate of the Church was thereby disannulled.

The Conclusion is evident from these Premises.

*It is a vaine thing now to alledge, that the Ordinances of Moses were sometimes the Ordinances of God, but so the inventions of Antichrist never were: and there is not the like honourable respect and tenderesse to be shewed to the inventions of Antichrist, as to the vanishing Ordinances of God; For though this were of weight, in case I had pleaded for the practise of any Antichristian invention, (which indeed was farre off, both from my meaning and words:) yet in this case it is wholly impertinent. For that which I pleaded for, was, the capablenesse of godly Persons of Church-estate, notwithstanding their ignorance of some weighty and necessary truths: and the foundnesse of their Church-estate, notwithstanding their admission and toleration of such ignorant members: unto which the difference of the severall objects of their ignorance maketh nothing at all. For the ignorance of weighty Truths (of one sort as well as another) necessary to salvation, is a sinne of like destructive nature, of what kinde soever the Truths be.*

Besides, there is no need, either for the clearing of our members, or of our Church-estate, to plead for the capablenesse of godly persons of Church-estate, notwithstanding their ignorance of the Truths of God, whether more or lesse necessary: For wee doe not look at it as any point of ignorance at all, for our members to believe, they may partake in the gifts of the godly Ministers in *England*, in hearing the word of God from them. I know the Examiner is vehement and peremptory in pleading for an *absolute necessitie, that godly persons before they doe joyne to a true Church, and Ministry,*

*should see and bewaile so much as may amount to cut off the soule from a false Church, (whether Nationall, Parishionall, or any other falsly constituted Church) Ministry, Worship, and Government of it.*

But the voyce of God is not alwayes in every vehement and mightie winde, that rendeth mountaines, and breaketh rockes, 1 *Kings* 19. 11. The Examiner is not ignorant, that we have seene, [77] and bewailed Nationall, and Parishionall Church-estate, and have cut off our selves (by the Grace of Christ) from any invented worship or government of it: yea and from such entrance into the Ministry or Administration of it, as was corrupt either by Nationall or Parishionall Relation. But this is that which he requireth further, (He I say, but not the Lord) that wee should cut off our selves from hearing the Ministry of the Parishes in *England*, as being the Ministry of a Nationall, or Parishionall Church, whereof both the Church-estate is falsly constituted, and all the Ministry, Worship, and Government thereof false also.

But two things here may suffice to answer this clamour.

1. Suppose all this were true, that he clamoureth, but prooveth not: yet this would I faine learne, wherein lieth the sinne of our members in hearing the godly Ministers in the Parishes? *Why*, saith he, *in that they doe not cut off themselves from a false Ministry.*

Now by the Ministry may be meant, either the office of the Ministry, or the exercise of the office, and gifts of the Ministry. From the office, and from the exercise of the office, our members have cut off themselves, partly by submitting themselves to a Ministry of their own Election in these Churches,<sup>45</sup> and partly by submitting themselves to no

<sup>45</sup> Under date of Aug. 27, 1630, Winthrop writes: "We, of the congregation, kept a part, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher, and Mr. Newell as elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. We used imposition of hands, but

act of their Ministeriall office in *England*, but what an Indian, or any Pagan might partake in, who yet is cut off farre enough from fellowship in their office.

Cutting off, is an act of disunion, and somewhat more violent, and keene, then (it may be) the Examiner requireth. The sinne he chargeth upon our members in hearing such Ministers, is union, or communion with them. And what shall wee say, is there no Communion between our members, and the Ministers in *England*, whom they doe heare?

Yes doubtlesse: For 1. There is a naturall communion between the speaker and the hearer: the one giveth coun-

with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in *England*." Winthrop, 1, 33. Wilson was subsequently made Pastor and Cotton was elected Teacher in his place, "and ordained by imposition of the hands of the presbytery, in this manner: First, he was chosen by all the congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands. Then Mr. Wilson, the pastor, demanded of him, if he did accept of that call. He paused, and then spake to this effect: that howsoever he knew himself unworthy and unsufficient for that place; yet, having observed all the passages of God's providence, (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the pastor prayed, and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth assign him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a sign from God) indu-

him with the gifts fit for his office; and lastly did bless him. Then the neighboring ministers, who were present, did (at the pastor's motion) give him the right hands of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation." Winthrop, 1, 114. For Cotton's view of the nature of the Power derived from Ordination, see, *post*, pp. 82-83. Compare also, "The Way of the Churches of Christ," p. 39, and "The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," p. 12.

According to Baylie, in his "Dissuasive," Cotton, so long as he remained in *England* did not go beyond Cartwright and the Presbyterians, but the reasons which Cotton himself gave the Boston Church for not baptising his infant at sea—"1. Because they had no settled congregation then; 2. because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation," (Winthrop, 1, 110,) proves that he had adopted the congregational theory before "he did taste of the New-English air." *Dissuasive*, p. 56. Cotton meets this charge in his "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," p. 25.

fell, or instruction, or reproofe, or comfort; and the other receiveth it.

2. There is a morall Communion between a Teacher and a learner: and doubtlesse, our hearers may learne many precious Truths from them.

3. What shall I say further; Is there not also a spirituall Communion between the Preacher and the Hearer, when the Preacher communicateth many spirituall and heavenly Points, and the Hearer receiveth them?

78] *Answe.* 1. Some would say; It is not necessary, that this should breed a spirituall Communion between the Preacher and the Hearer: No more then it maketh a Mathematicall Communion between a reader of the Mathematicks, and the learner of some Principles, or Conclusions from him.

But 2. I would rather answer otherwise. For suppose a member of our Churches, though a visible Saint here, yet indeed an hypocrite; should occasionally heare a Minister in *England*, and by the Power of the Spirit of Grace breathing in his Ministry, be effectually brought home to Christ, and by lively faith united to him: Here is a spirituall Relation and Communion wrought between them: the one is a spirituall Father; the other a naturall Sonne in the Faith.

Neverthelesse, this I would say, that this spirituall Communion is not between this Hearer and this Minister, in respect of his Office, but in respect of his Gifts, and of the Power of the Spirit of Grace breathing in the dispensation of his Gifts. In which respect this Communion doth not amount to Church-communion: Any stranger might enjoy as much. Any Pagan *Corinthians* might come in, and heare in the Church of *Corinth*, 1 Cor. 14. 24, 25. and reape a blessing thereby, who yet had not Ecclesiasticall Communion with their Office. Also the Prophet *Jeremy* heard the false

Prophet *Hanani*, yea (and in some fence) said Amen to his Prophecy: yet had he no communion with his false Office, *Jer.* 28. 1. to 6. If he still urge, that we have not yet cut off our selves from communion, no not with the false office of the Ministry of *England*, and with their false Church-estate, in as much as we still retaine their Baptisme, wherein we subjected our selves to their Office, and to their Church-estate, (which are both false :) as well as their Worship, and their Government.

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* This is a further Objection, then he held forth whilest he continued with us: and therefore no marvell, if my Letter spake nothing to it. But therefore let me now propound another Point, which may suffice both for an Answer to this Objection, as also for a second Answer unto the former clamour, and exception against hearing of the godly Ministers in *England*. The Point is this; That I doe not see, how the Examiner can justifie his grievous charge, that their Church is falsly constituted, (whether Nationall or Parishionall) [79] and accordingly, that their Ministry, Worship, and Government are all of them false. Foure things he chargeth to be false. 1. Their Church constitution, Parishionall and Nationall. 2. Their Ministers. 3. Their Worship. 4. Their Government.

For the first, touching the constitution of their Parishionall Churches, let it be considered what I said before, that where there be visible Saints, there is the true matter of the Church; and where there is a Covenant or Agreement (whether explicate or implicate) to assemble together in one Congregation, to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another in the Ordinances of Christ, there is (for substance) the true forme of a Church. And where there is the true matter and true forme of a Church, it cannot be truly said, that such a

Church is falsly constituted. For there being but two causes of which a thing is constituted, matter and forme: whatsoever hath true matter, and true forme, is truly constituted.

Against this, what he will accept I doe not know: and therefore know not how to prevent him with a fit and just defence. But by others, two things are wont to be objected.

*Object.* 1. From the matter of the Church. *Object.* 2. From the efficient cause of the Church.

From the matter of the Church, it is objected, that there be not onely visible Saints in the English Parishes, but with them are mingled many ignorant, and scandalous persons, drunkards, whoremongers, despisers and persecutors of them that are good, Prophane swearers, that have not so much as a forme of godlinesse, but doe utterly deny and deride the power of it.

*Answer.* This is indeed just matter of mourning and lamentation to all the Saints of Christ, and may be also (in due order) just warrant of some degree of separation from them, as from a corrupt Church. It cannot but offend and deeply grieve the spirit of a Christian, to sit downe at the Lords Table, and drinke the blood of the Lord with such, who may be ready the next day to spill the blood of sincere Communicants as Puritan Round-Heads.

But whilst the Saints of Christ continue amongst them, the mixt fellowship of ignorant and prophane persons doth not evacuate or disannull their Church-estate. The store of malignant and noysome humours in the body, yea the deadnesse and rottennesse of many members in the body, though they may make the body [80] an unsound and corrupt body, yet they doe not make the body no body. When the Prophet *Isaiab* complained, that in the Church of *Judah*, from the soale of the foote to the crowne of the head, there was no



foundnesse in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores; yet whilst there was a Remnant amongst them of faithfull Saints, they were not yet no Church, they were not yet *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, though but for that Remnant, they had been as *Sodome*, and like unto *Gomorrha*, *Isa.* 1. 6. with 9. Say not though *Hierusalem* and *Judah* were at that time degenerate, yet they had been at first an holy Nation, a faithfull Citie, (*Isa.* 1. 21) and so had a true constitution: which the Churches of *England* never had.

For 1. I might answer, That though in regard of some prime members, *Hierusalem* was counted a faithfull Citie, and the Nation Holy, by Priviledge of their Covenant: yet for the body of the people, *Hierusalem* was alwayes a City of the provocation of Gods wrath from the day they built it, *Jer.* 32. 31, 32. And for the body of the Nation, *Moses* charged them; *Yee have alwayes been rebellious against the Lord, since the day that I knew you*, *Deut.* 9. 7. 24. And *Stephen* protesteth against them; *They had alwayes wont to resist the Holy Ghost, they and their fathers*, *Act.* 7. 51.

2. I doe not understand, but that (according to Scripture) those corruptions which doe not destroy a Church constituted, the same do not destroy the constitution of a Church. The Church is constituted, and continued by the same Grace.

3. The estate of the Churches of *England* was not corrupt in their first constitution. *Baronius* himselfe confesseth, that *England* received the Gospel ten yeares before *Rome*; <sup>46</sup> and

<sup>46</sup> I am at loss to conjecture on what ground Cotton makes this statement, since *Baronius* strongly advocates the theory that St. Peter preached the Gospel in Rome in the second year of *Claudius*, in the year 44 of our era. See *Annals Ecclesiastici*, Tome 1, p. 296. *Baronius* further asserts, on the authority of *Sim-*

*eon Metaphraistes*, that Peter preached in Britain in the year 58. do. p. 508. The common Protestant opinion is that he did not visit Rome until the last year of his life.

*Cæsar Baronius* was born in 1538. He pursued his studies at Rome, in 1593 became Superior of the Congregation of

that from the Ministry of the Apostles, and Apostolick men : who doubtlesse constituted the *English Churches* :) not after the manner of *Rome*, (which was then Pagan ;) but after the Apostolick Rules and Patternes.

This may suffice touching the matter of the *English Churches*. Now touching the second thing objected, which was from the efficient cause of their constitution ; It is said, they were gathered not by the preaching of the Gospel, (by which Churches should be planted and constituted) but by the Proclamation of Princes.

*Ans. 1.* The efficient cause of a Church is a thing without the [81] Church, and so no essential cause of the constitution of a Church. The Proclamation of King *Hezekiah*, and of the Princes, drew on multitudes of Apostate *Israelites* to the Communion of the Church at *Hierusalem*, and many of them in much pollution : yet neither their own pollution, nor the Proclamation of the King and Princes did evacuate their Church-estate, but encourage them rather in their Church-worke, 2 *Chron.* 30. 5. to 9. and verses 11, 12. 17, 18, 19, 20. It was no pollution to the second Temple at *Hierusalem*, that it was built by the encouragement of the Proclamation of *Cyrus*, *Ezra* 1.

*Ans. 2.* Wheresoever there be visible Saints gathered into a Church, they were first gathered by the Ministry of the Gospel. For Proclamations cannot make Saints, but the word of the Gospel onely. If any hypocrites, or time-servers,

the Oratory, and in 1596 was raised to the rank of Cardinal by Pope Clement VIII. He was afterwards made librarian to the Vatican, and died from excessive study in 1607. His great work, the *Anales Ecclesiastici*, designed especially as a vindication of the Church of Rome against the Magdeburg Centuriators, was

published at Rome, 1588-93, the result of thirty years study. The chief value of this colossal work arises from the use made of some material in the Vatican Library inaccessible to the Protestant scholar. The references in this note are to the Lucca edition, 1738-1787, in thirty-eight volumes folio.

doe for feare joyne themselves with the Saints in such a worke; though their fellowship may weaken and blemish the worke, yet it doth not destroy it.

Thus much touching the constitution of their Parishionall Churches: Now touching their Nationall Constitution, it standeth partly in their Nationall Officers, Archbishops, Bishops, and their Servitors; partly, in their Nationall Synods and convocations; and partly also in their Nationall Ecclesiasticall Courts.

The Examiner is not ignorant, that (by the Grace of Christ) we have withdrawn our selves, and our Churches also from this Nationall Constitution, and from all Communion with them.<sup>47</sup>

If it be said; But we still keepe Communion with the Parish-Churches, (in hearing the Word there) who doe subject themselves to these Nationall Officers, Convocations, and Courts.

*Answe.* 1. Though the Parish-Churches were lately subject to them, it was a burden (which as they did discern the

<sup>47</sup> "In the New Testament, it is not a new observation that we never read of any nationall church, nor of any nationall officers given to them by Christ. In the old Testament indeed, we reade of a Nationall Church. All the tribes of *Israel* were three times a yeer to appeare before the Lord in *Jerusalem*, *Deut.* 16. 16. And he appointed them there an high Priest of the whole nation, and certain solemne sacrifices by him to be administered, *Lev.* 16. 1 to 29. and with him other Priests and Elders, and Judges, to whom all appeals should be brought, and who should judge all difficult and transcendent cases, *Deut.* 17. 8 to 11. but wee reade of no such nationall church or high Priest, or court in the new Tes-

tament; and yet we willingly grant that particular churches of equall power, may in some cases appointed by Christ, meet together by themselves, or by their messengers in a Synod, and may perform fundry acts of power there, as hath been showed above. But the officers themselves, and all the Brethren members of the Synod; yea, and the Synods themselves, and all the power they put forth, they are all of them *primarily* given to the severall churches of particular Congregations, either as the first subject in whom they are resident, or as the first object about whom they are conversant, and for whose sake they are gathered and employed." *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, pp. 31, 32.

iniquitie thereof) they groaned under, and now by the mightie Power of the gracious Redemption of the Lord Jesus, they have shaken off through the helpe of the Honorable, and Religious Prudence and Piety of the Parliament.<sup>48</sup>

2. Though those Nationall Courts in their Officers, did for many yeares tread downe the Parish-Churches, yet they did not extinguish their Church-estate. The Text is plaine, *The Gentiles* (that is, men of Gentile-like prophanenesse, and malignitie, and [82] iniquitie, who had the keeping of the Church-Courts) *they did tread downe the Holy City*, Rev. 11. 2. Tread downe (I say) but not destroy the Holy City. Yea though the Translation reade it, *They did tread it downe*, or, *Tread it under-foote*: yet the Originall word may be rendred somewhat more mildly: *πατήσαι*, may expresse their walking upon it, or else the Peripateticks were a more violent sect, then either their Principles, or their Practise did declare them.

I come now to speake of the second Falshood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *English* Churches, which was the falsenesse of their Ministry: which wherein it lyeth, he should have done well to have told us: *for himselfe disliketh it in me, to wander in Generalities*.

But for our selves, we are farre from that supercilious, and Pharisaicall arrogancy, as to condemne such for false Ministers, in whom we finde Truth of Godlinesse, Truth of Ministeriall Gifts, Truth of Election and acceptance unto Office

<sup>48</sup> In September, 1642, Parliament passed an ordinance providing that the episcopal jurisdiction should cease after fourteen months. In June, 1643, the ordinance for calling the Westminster Assembly was passed, which recited that the government of the Church "by Archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers, is evil and justly offensive and

burdensome to the kingdom, and an impediment to reformation and religion." In August, 1645, a further ordinance was passed authorizing the Presbyterian form of national church government. Cotton had perhaps not heard of this last step when he wrote the above sentence in praise of the Parliament.

by true Churches of Christ, Truth of sound, & wholesome, and soule-saving Doctrine, and Truth of holy and exemplary Conversation. And such are all the Ministers whom either the members of our Churches affect to Heare, or our Churches doe allow them ordinarily for to Heare. And when I say Truth, I speake it not in opposition to Eminency, (for sundry of them excell in Eminency of fundry of these things :) but in opposition to the falshood which the Examiner objecteth.

I know not what exception lyeth against their Ministry, to argue it of falshood, (save what hath been excepted and answered already touching the constitution of their Parishionall Churches) but onely the falseness of the Power from whence their Ministry is derived, to wit, from Episcopall Ordination.

But the Examiner is much mistaken, if he take us to conceive, or if he himselfe conceive, that the Power of the Ministeriall calling is derived from Ordination, whether Episcopall or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall.<sup>49</sup> The Power of the Ministeriall Calling is derived chiefly from Christ, furnishing

<sup>49</sup> "For the Rite of Ordination we doe not looke at it as any Essentiall Part of our vocation to the Ministry, no more than Coronation is an Essentiall Part of the Office of the King." Bloody Tenent Washed, p. 8.

"For the Church hath not *absolute* power to choose whom they list, but *ministeriall* power onely, to choose whom Christ hath chosen, hath gifted and fitted for them."

"As the Authoritie of the *Pastor*, and other *Elders*, is not from the Church, but from Christ; so neither is their Office and Authoritie from the Bishop, nor from the *Presbytery*, nor from the *Classis*

*of Presbyteries*; If therefore that were a just impediment, why the Church should not lay hands upon their elect *Pastors* or *Elders*, because neither their office, nor their Authoritie, is from the Church, then neither may the *Bishop*, nor the *Presbytery*, nor the *Classis* lay their hands upon them; because their office and Authoritie is no more (nor so much) from them, as from the Church; nor by this Argument might the *Apostles* themselves (if they were present) ordaine Officers, because neither the *office* nor the *Authority* is from the Apostles, but from *Christ* onely." Way of the Churches, pp. 39 and 44.

his fervants with Gifts fit for the Calling; and nextly, from the Church, (or Congregation) who observing such whom the Lord hath gifted, doe elect and call them forth to come and helpe them. For from that ground, *Paul* and *Silas* (to use the words of the Text) assuredly gathered that [83] the Lord had called them to preach the Gospel to the *Macedonians*, Acts 16. 9, 10. to wit, because a man of *Macedonia* (in the name of the rest) had called unto them to come into *Macedonia* and helpe them. Pastor and flock are Relatives: and Relatives doe consist *ex mutuâ alterius affectione*, Their mutuall acceptance of one another is the essentiall cause of their Relation. Ordination is but *adjunctum consummans* (as Dr. Ames<sup>so</sup> rightly observeth) of the Ministers Calling:

<sup>so</sup> William Ames was born in 1576, and educated at Christ College, Cambridge. Rather than wear the surplice he resigned his fellowship, and soon after, to escape the indignation of Bancroft, fled to Holland, where he was chosen minister of the English Church at the Hague. He was about to be chosen Professor of Divinity at Leyden, but the English Ambassador, at the instigation of Archbishop Abbott, prevented the execution of the plan. He was afterwards elected by the States of Friesland to a similar office at the University of Franeker. After filling the office with great distinction for twelve years, he was led by failing health to accept an invitation to the English Church at Rotterdam. Here he died, Nov. 14, 1633, being just on the point of embarking for New England. The following year his wife and children embarked, carrying with them his valuable library. His Latin works were published at Amsterdam in 1658, in five volumes. See Brook's Lives, 2, 405. Neal, 1, pp. 436, 578.

In the preparation of his "Fresh Suit against Ceremonies," Ames was assisted by Hooker, at that time staying in Rotterdam, who said "If a scholar were but well studied in Dr. Ames his *Medulla Theologiæ*, and *Casus Conscientiæ*, so as to understand them thoroughly, they would make him (supposing him versed in the Scriptures) a *good divine*, though he had no more books in the world." Cotton cherished an equally exalted opinion of him, declaring when on his death bed, that it contributed unto his readines to be gone "when he considered the saints, whose company and communion he was going unto; particularly Perkins, Ames, Preston, Hilderham, Dod, and others, which had been peculiarly dear unto himself." See Life of Cotton, in Cotton Mather's Magnalia.

Ames exerted much influence on Cotton's ecclesiastical opinions, as appears from the following passage in the reply of the latter to the charge of Baylie, *ante*, p. 77, note 45: "But when he saith, 'I minded no more than the Old Non-

the Relation between him and the people was truly wrought before. As the Coronation of the Prince is not that which giveth the Effency of his Princely Calling, but Election by the People, (where the Government is Elective :) so neither is Ordination that which giveth Essence to the Ministers Calling, but the peoples choice. Ordination by Imposition of Episcopall hands, doth pollute an Adjunct of the Ministers calling, (to wit, the solemnitie of it :) but doth not destroy the essence, or nature of it, much lesse derive a false power to it, to evacuate the true.

The third Falshood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *English* Parish-Churches, is the False worship. And truly whatsoever hath been corrupt in their worship, whether Prescript, Liturgies, or undue Honour put upon Saints or Angels, in denominating Dayes or Temples after them, and such times and places dedicated to God, which he never required, and what ever other Devices of like nature, I had rather bewaile before the Lord, then excuse or justifie before men.

Conformity whilest I abode in *England*, he must be more privie to my mind than any mortall man is, and than myself to, to make it good. There were some scores of godly persons in *Boston* in *Lincolnsbire*, (whereof some are there still, and some here, and some are fallen asleep) who can witnesse, that we entered into a Covenant with the Lord, and one with another, to follow after the Lord in the purity of his Worship; which though it was defective, yet it was more than the Old Non-Conformity. Besides I had then learned of Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Baynes* (and soon after of Dr. *Ames*) that the Ministers of Christ, and the Keyes of the Government of his Church are given to each particular Congregationall Church respectively: and there-

fore neither Ministers nor Congregations subject to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of Cathedrall Churches, no, nor of Classicall Assemblies neither, but by voluntary confociation, and that in some cases; and those falling short of that which is properly called subjection to their jurisdiction." Way of the Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 20. Compare statement to the same effect on p. 21. "The particular visible Church of a Congregation to be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Baynes*, and Dr. *Ames*." These passages are important as showing who were the authors of that "Order of the Churches" with which the name of Cotton came afterwards to be so closely associated.

And I should thinke it had been a better service to God, and his Churches, and a greater comfort to the soule of the Examiner, to have exprest particularly what the false worship had been which he beareth witnesse against, and to have cleared wherein their falshood lyeth, rather then to have rested in condemning all false worships in overly Generalities: and especially at such a time when (through mercy) the State is set upon Reformation, and calleth for light. He that shall cry out against all false wayes in Travels by Land, and exclaime against all Rocks and Quick-sands by Sea, and give no particular notice where they lye, what helpe doth he afford to the carefull Passenger or Marriner, either by Land or Sea? When Trumpets give such an uncertain and obscure sound, who shall prepare themselves to avoyd the danger on the one hand, or on the other?

But for the present, two things would I say, touching the point in hand.

84] 1. It is not every corruption in worship, that denominateth the worship to be false worship. It was doubtlesse a corrupt worship to Sacrifice in the High Places: yet God doth not call it a false worship, but rather seemeth to accept it, as done to himselfe, 2 *Kings* 33. 17. False worship (to speake properly) is as good as no worship: nor is the God of Truth wont to accept that which is false. But there may be many aberrations in the manner of worship, when yet both the object of the worship is the true God, and the substance of the worship is true worship: and God may accept that which is Truth, from an honest and true heart, and passe by many aberrations, (as infirmities) and not reject all as falsities.

The second thing I would say, is, That whatsoever we have discerned to be corrupt, or irregular in the worship of



God, we have beleevd it to be our duty, both to judge our selves for it before the Lord, and to reforme it in our practise. If any shall discover any further failings in our worship, or in the worship of those Churches whom wee communicate with, I hope the Lord will not shut our eyes against the light.

The fourth Falshood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *English*-Churches, is false Government, which if he meane the Government of the Parishes, by the godly Ministers, (with whom our people communicate in hearing;) that Government is chiefly administred by the publick Preaching of the Gospel, and by private admonition. Which he that shall challenge it to be a false Government, (though it may be defective in some Directions;) verily the spirit of Truth and Grace in those who are governed and led by it, from darknesse to light, from the Power of Satan unto God, from a state of Grace to assured hopes of eternall Glory in Christ Jesus, will convince all such slanderous tongues of notorious falshood.

But if he speake of the Nationall-Church-Government, we must confesse the Truth, there indeed Truth is fallen, and falshood hath prevailed much. For whether we speake of the Hands, by which that Government hath been administred, or of the Ecclesiasticall Courts, in which it is administred, or of the Rule, according to which it is administred, or of the End for which it is administred; All of them are forsaken of Truth, and can challenge no warrant of Truth but falsely.

85] The Hands by which that Government hath been administred, are the Prelacy, and their Servitors: who though they have of late challenged Institution by Divine Right: yet the claime is utterly false. The Divine Authoritie hath none to attend upon Rule and Government in the Church,

but such as are inferior to Pastors and Teachers in Congregations, who labour in Word and Doctrine, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. Diocesan Bishops in the dayes of the Gospel, are like Kings in *Israel* in the dayes of the Judges, both of them wanting Divine Institution.<sup>51</sup> What a pity is it, that some men eminent for Piety and Preaching, and others for learning and moderation, should come to be (as *Jothams* Parable speaketh) advanced over their Brethren, and so leave their fatnesse, and sweetnesse, and fruitfulness, wherewith they had been wont to serve both God and man?

The Ecclesiasticall Courts in which that Government is administred, are like the Courts of the High Priests, and Pharisees, which *Solomon* (by a spirit of Prophecy) styleth, *Dens of Lyons, Mountaines of Leopards*, (Cant. 4. 8.) And those who have had to doe with them, have found them Markets of the sinnes of the People, the Cages of uncleannesse, the forgers of Extortion, the Tabernacles of Bribery.

The Rule according to which the Government is administred, is not the word of God, (which alone is able to make a Church-Governour perfect to every good worke, 2 *Tim.* 1. 17.) but in stead thereof the Canon Law, the Decretalls of Antichrist, and most unworthily and falsly applied to the Government of the Spouse of Christ.

The End also for which this Government now for many yeares hath been administred, hath not onely been contrary

<sup>51</sup> "Now the Apostle acknowledgeth no *Acts of Rule*, nor any *Elders* (or *Bishops*) that doe *Rule*, as worthy of *greater honour* than such *Elders* as labour in *Word* and *Doctrine*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. It is therefore apparently contradictory to the institutions given by *Paul* in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, to set up any eminent or transcendent Bishop in the

Church, in respect of *Rule*, or exercise of office of more *honour* and *power*, than pertaineth to *all* the Ministers of the *Word*. So that evident it is, that neither *Ordination*, nor *Jurisdiction* (which are both of them *Acts of Rule*) are to be fetched from transcendent Bishops, but pertaine indifferently to *all the Presbyters*." Way of the Churches, pp. 48, 49.

to the ends of Church-Government, (which is to order the people in holiness, and love) but even contrary to the end of Civill Government, which is the punishment of evill doers, and the praise of them that doe well, *Rom. 9. 4.* But here the very edge of Government, hath been bent and sharpened chiefly against holiness and puritie. No malefactors so hainous, (drunkards, whoremongers, prophane persons) but might expect the approach of Courts with lesse terror, and passe from under their hands, with more favourable Censure then the sheepe of Christ, and the faithfull Shepherds of them.<sup>52</sup> 86] This Government therefore being administred with false Hands, on false Thrones, by false Rules, for false Ends, I blame not the Examiner, though he stile it, (as justly he may) a false Government.

But to conclude therefore this 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter, the Examiner telleth us, *He beleeveth it is absolutely necessary to see and bewaile so much as may amount to cut off the soule from a false Church, (whether Nationall, or Parishionall, or any other falsely constituted Church) together with the Ministry, Worship, and Government of it.*

Now in that which hath been spoken, wee have given account, how farre we have seene any of these things to be false in the Churches, which his charge hath respect unto. And so farre as we have seene, the Lord knoweth how farre

<sup>52</sup> Cotton Mather, referring to the time when the pursuivants of the High Commission Court were searching for Cotton, says: "Application was made, in the meantime, to the Earl of Dorset, for the fulfilment of his old engagement with Mr. Cotton; and the Earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would often with, 'Oh that I could meet with Cotton,' rendered all his intercessions both ineffectual and unseasonable. Hereupon that noble person sent word unto him, that if he had been guilty of *drunkenness*, or *uncleanness*, or any such *lesser fault*, he could have obtained his pardon; but inasmuch as he had been guilty of non-conformity, and puritanism, the crime was unpardonable; and therefore, said he, 'you must fly for your safety.'"

Life of John Cotton, in Mather's Mag-nalia.

we have bewailed, and cut off our selves from the Fellowship thereof. Yea not onely from the fellowship of that which we discerne to be false, but also from what we have discerned to be unsound and corrupt. If we doe not discerne all those things to be false, which he accounteth to be false; we have given the grounds thereof from the Scriptures of Truth. If we doe not follow him in all his imaginations, it is no marvell: The sheepe of Christ know the voyce of their Shepheard: a stranger they will not follow. His charges of Falshood upon Churches have been vehement, and peremptory, and in a manner sorbonicall, without any touch of Scripture-grounds, as if he had learned not onely from them, but from the Conclave of Antichrist, to obtrude upon the Churches of Christ, his unwritten imaginations and censorious Decrees, as the very Oracles of God.

Proceed we now therefore to his next Chapter, wherein, there is some mention of some Texts of Scripture, and let us see, whether they will speake more to his purpose in that which remaineth.

#### TO CHAP. XV.

**T**He Texts of Scripture which Mr. *Williams* alledged, not to prove the Churches of *England* to be false in their Constitution, Ministry, Worship, Government, (for to that end he alledged no Scriptures at all) but to urge upon us a separation from them, (even from hearing in their Assemblies) were three, *Isai.* 52. [87] 11. 2 *Cor.* 6. 17. *Rev.* 18. 4. Whereof I certified him in my Letter, *That two of them* (to wit, the first and last) *made nothing to his purpose.* For that of *Isaiah*, and the other of the Revelation speake of locall sepa-

*ration, which he knew we had made : and which neither he, nor indeed our selves apprehended to be sufficient, though sufficient to answer, in part, the literall sence of those Places.*

To which he answereth, *That he could not well have beleaved that M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, or any other, would have made that coming forth of Babel in the Antitype, Rev. 18. 4. to be locall and materiall also. For what Civill State, or Nation, or Countrey in the world, in the Antitype could now be called Babel? If any, then surely Babel it selfe properly so called: but there we finde a true Church of Jesus Christ, 1 Pet. 5. Secondly, If Babel be locall now, whence Gods People are called, then must there be a locall Judea, a Land of Canaan also, into which they are called, &c.*

*Reply.* If the Examiner had been pleased to have read M<sup>r</sup>. Brightman<sup>53</sup> on Rev. 18. 4. He might finde, I was not the first that Interpreted, either that place in *Isaiab*, or this in *Revelation*, of a locall separation. For as there was in old *Babel*, fundry of Gods *Israel*, Inhabitants then when the *Medes* and *Persians* were about to take it, and destroy it: so will there be in new *Babel* fundry of Gods chosen people still inhabiting amongst them, even then when the ten Kings will be ready to take the Citie, and to burne it with fire. Unto whom as the Lord sent his Angels to hasten *Lot* out of *Sodome*, when he was about to destroy it: so he hath sent and will send the voyce of his Messengers to hasten his people,

<sup>53</sup> Rev. Thomas Brightman, fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Hawnes, in Bedfordshire. Though a subscriber to the "Book of Discipline," he was no friend to separation. He died Aug. 24, 1607, aged fifty-one. His most renowned work was the Commentary on the "Revelation of St. John," referred to by Cotton, in

which he makes Cranmer the angel having power over the fire, Thomas Cromwell the angel which came out of the temple of heaven, and Cecil the angel of the waters. When Episcopacy was abolished, the book attracted great notice, as this event was viewed as a fulfilment of its predictions. Brightman had interpreted Antichrist to mean the Prelacy.

as well out of new *Babel*, (as he did out of old) before that sodaine destruction fall upon the City, and upon them in it.

He need not make it so strange, *What Civill State, or Nation, or Countrey in the world shall be called Babel now?* As if the very expresse letter of the Text had not clearly enough deciphered the City of *Rome*, the great City, which in *Johns* time reigned over the Kings of the Earth, to be the *Babylon*, (the Antitype of *Babel* in *Chaldea*,) whom the Lord would destroy, and out of whom he calleth his people to depart? Why doth he tell us of *Babel* in *Peter*, (*Babel* in *Chaldea*,) as if the Type and the Antitype were literally the same place? Or as if he were altogether a stranger in the Booke of the *Revelation*, and never understood *Rome* to be called *Babylon*?

88] But secondly, saith he, *If Babel be locall now, then there must be a locall Judea, a Land of Canaan also, into which the Saints are called.*

Reply. 1. It followeth not for the Angel that calleth them out of *Babel*, doth not call them into *Judea*, or *Canaan*. There is no mention of such places in that call at all.

2. There be, and will be, when *Rome* is destroyed, and before it be destroyed, visible Churches of Christ, (as was *Judea* and *Canaan* of old;) into which these Saints who are called to depart out of *Rome*, have a just calling to come and to joyne themselves. For it is out of the Temple, and out of the Temple open in Heaven, out of which those Angels come, who powre out the vials of Gods wrath, both upon the Antichristian State, and upon the Citie of *Babylon* it selfe, *Rev.* 15. 5, 6. with *Chap.* 16. 19.

The Examiner need not here aske, *Whether M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton can satisfie his own soule, or the soules of other men, in making a locall departure from old England to New, as if therein we*

*bad obeyed that voyce of the Angel, Come out of Babylon my People, partake not of her finnes, &c.*

For 1. I doe not count *England*, literally to be *Babel*, nor myſtically neither. I beleeeve a man may live and dye in *England*, and yet obey that Commandement of the Angel in all the parts of it. Some other godly men might finde more favour and exemption from Babylonish corruptions in the miſt of *England*, then I was ſuffered to doe, without locall departure.

2. Though I thinke, that in thoſe words, *Come out of Babel my People*, locall ſeparation be intended, yet when he addeth, *Lest yee be partakers of her finnes*, I beleeeve, ſpirituall ſeparation is much more required: and locall ſeparation as a meanes the better to attaine that end of ſpirituall ſeparation from partaking in her finnes.

Which may alſo cleare the meaning of the Text, and the fraud of the Examiner. For the words are not (as he alledgeth them) *Come out of Babel, my people, Partake not of her finnes*: For ſo the latter part might be an ἐξήγησις, or explanation of the former: Coming out of *Babel*, might be all one with, *Partake not of her finnes*. But the words of the Text be, *Come out of her, my People, that yee be not partaker of her finnes*. Which plainly argueth, that coming out [89] of *Babel* locally, is a meanes to prevent partaking in her finnes ſpirituall.

It is true which he ſaith, *The Lord Jeſus hath broken downe all difference of Places*, (Joh. 4.) *and all difference of Perſons*, Acts 10. To wit, in regard of ceremoniall pollution, or ceremoniall holineſſe. But if he thinke, there is no difference between one Citie, or Countrey more then another in morall pollutions of Idolatry, & ſuperſtition, unrighteouſneſſe and uncleanneſſe, he maketh himſelfe a greater ſtranger both

to the Word and to the world, then I did thinke he had been.

The two causes of Gods Indignation against *England*, which he suggesteth, are worthy due consideration and attention. I would rather say Amen to them, then weaken the weight of them. Onely I should so assent to the latter, as not to moove for a Toleration of all Dissenters, Dissenters in Fundamentalls, and that out of obstinacy against conscience, and Seducers, to the perdition of soules, and to the disturbance of Civill and Church-Peace: but onely of such Dissenters, as vary either in matters of lesse weight, or of fundamentall, yet not out of wilfull obstinacy, but out of tenderneffe of Conscience.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The distinction which Cotton here draws is between passive nonconformity, and active opposition. The former was illustrated in his own career of twenty years as a minister of the Church of England. Thus in the "Bloody Tenent Washed," he says, speaking of the persecutions of the Puritans under James the First, "For by the Rule of the Word, those (whom they called) Puritans ought not to have been persecuted, no though they had been erroneous in their way, which they were not. For though they consented not to the State-Government of the Church; yet neither did they tumultuously and seditiously resist it," p. 137. The latter, in Cotton's view, was illustrated in the career of Williams at Salem. Thus he says: "He holdeth forth an erroneous Doctrine, or Practise, in an Arrogant and Impetuous way, not onely who carrieth it in a reviling and daring way (which is a disturbance to Civill Peace: But also he who refuseth to subject his spirit to the spirit of the Prophets in a holy Church of Christ

(contrary to 1 Cor. 14. 32.) which is a disturbance to the peace of the Church. And withall, he that shall oppose such as dissent from his Errors, either by violent means (as the Circumcellians did by Clubbs, and Swords,) and as Zedekiah did Micajah with Fists, (1 Kings, 22. 24.) or by censorious reproaches, and by rejecting Communion with them even before conviction or admonition, all these are wayes of Arrogance, and Impetuoufnesse, and tend to the disturbance either of civill, or Church Peace, or of both." *Bloody Tenent Washed*, p. 14.

Cotton held that even "Dissenters in Fundamentalls" might be tolerated, if their dissent was passive. "And for the Civill State, we know no ground they have to persecute *Jewes*, or *Turkes*, or other *Pagans* for cause of Religion, though they all erre in Fundamentalls. No nor would I exempt Anti-Christians neither, from Toleration, notwithstanding their Fundamentall Errors, unlesse after conviction they still continue to seduce simple soules into their damnable,



As for the Controversie, which the Examiner saith, *He bath with me, Whether false worship be not onely locall, but a spirituall Guilt, and not onely a Guilt, but also an Habit, &c.*

I doe acknowledge no such controversie between us: I wholly consent with him in the Point. Onely I doe not beleeve, all that to be either a Guilt, or an Habit of false worship, which he doth imagine: but in his termes I accord.

### TO CHAP. XVI.

**H**IS 16<sup>th</sup> Chapter is taken up in examining and Answering the Exposition which my Letter gave of that Text formerly alledged, 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16. Of which I said.

*That the Text onely requireth Coming out from Idolaters in the fellowship of their Idolatry: No Marriages were they to make with them: No Feasts were they to hold with them in the Idolls Temples: No intimate Familiaritie were they to maintaine with them: Nor any Fellowship [90] were they to keepe with them in the unfruitfull workes of Darknesse.*

*And this is all which the place requireth. But what maketh all this to proove, that we may not receive such Persons to Church-fellowship as our selves confesse to be godly, and who doe*

and pernicious Heresies." Bloody Tentent Washed. p. 33. See, also, p. 83. Compare Cotton's statement, *ante*, pp. 36, 37. The reason for the interference of the civil magistrate is thus stated: "Nor doth the Civill State in such punishment attend so much, how to procure the conversion of Hereticks, or Apostates, or such like scandalous turbulent offenders: as how to prevent the perversion of their founder people (*Gan-*

*grænam amoveas, ne pars sincera trahatur*: ) or else to worke the subversion of such, as doe subvert both truth and peace." do. p. 20.

Cotton argued that the peculiar views of Williams respecting the Churches, "as all dissipated and rooted out from the fear of the Earth by the Apostacy of Antichrist," rendered it the more incumbent on the civil power to interfere and prevent the spread of error. do. p. 69.

*professedly bewaile and renounce all knowne sinne, and would renounce more, if they knew more? Although, it may be, they doe not see the utmost skirts of all that pollution they have sometimes been defiled with: as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Polygamy?*

In Answer to this, the Examiner telleth us;

1. *That if the regenerate and repenting English did come thus farre forth, it would availe much to the sanctifying of the Name of the Lord Iesus, to the pacifying of his jealousy, &c.*

*Reply.* But this is no Answer at all, unlesse he did assume that our repenting English did not come thus farre forth. Therefore he giveth for another Answer, (that which is indeed but a part of this) *That according to the former Distinction of Godly Persons, who possibly may live in ungodly practises (especially of false worship:) And then according to M<sup>r</sup>. Cottons Interpretation, they come not forth.*

*Reply.* That former Distinction hath been considered above and weighed; but hath been found impertinent to the case in hand. The Examiner neither doth, nor ever will make it good, That the Godly persons amongst us doe live in any ungodly practises of false worship. Nor doe they take his Affirmation (without any mention of Scripture-ground) for a sufficient conviction.

*But (saith he) if there be any voyce of Christ in the mouths of his witnesses against these sinnes, they are not then of ignorance, but negligence, and spirituall hardnesse against the wayes of Gods feare, Isai. 63. &c.*

*Reply.* If there be (saith he) any voyce of Christ in the mouths of his witnesses against these sinnes, &c. If there be: he doth not say, there be. And if there were, how doth it appeare, that their voyce is the voyce of Christ, or that they be the witnesses of Christ, in whose mouths this voyce is? How

easie had it been for the Examiner, if he himselfe knew any such voyce of Christ in the mouths of any of his witnesses against these finnes of false worship which our godly Brethren doe live in, to have alledged the same, and the word of Christ, which might have been witnesse to the voyce of those witnesses? But these Ifs and Overtures will neither convince nor edifie others, nor justifie himselfe.

91] Besides, what if there be some witnesses have testified against the false worship in *England*, and against the hearing of those Ministers, by reason of that false worship? What if the Godly Persons (of whom he speaketh) here, are not so ignorant, but they know what those witnesses have said, nor so negligent, but they have duly considered and pondered the same, and weighing it in the Balance of the Scriptures, have found it too light? Is it spirituall hardnesse, to choose, rather to feare God, and his Word, then to feare the false Interpretations and Applications of it by the spirit of Error? The word of the Lord wee reverence and acknowledge, *Come not yee to Gilgall, neither goe yee up to Bethaven*: But doe wee come to *Gilgall*, or goe up to *Bethaven*, when we heare the word of the Lord from the godly Preachers in the Parishes in *England*? If such alledgements of Scripture may goe for the voyce of Christ in the mouths of his witnesses, we shall soone forget the Counsell of *Solomon*; *Cease my Sonne to heare the Instruction, which causeth to erre from the words of knowledge*, Pro. 19. 27. The Apostle *John* hath long since directed us, *Hereby know we the spirit of Truth, and the spirit of Error: He that knoweth God, beareth us,* (that is, the Apostles, and those that preach their Doctrine;) *He that is not of God, beareth us not*, 1 Joh. 4. 6.

But for another Answer, the Examiner proceedeth; *Moreover*, (saith he) *the Question is not of the utmost skirts of*

*pollution, but the substance of a true and false Bed of worship, Cant. 1. 16. In respect of coming out of the false, before the entrance into the true.*

*Reply.* I said indeed, that *Godly Persons repenting of all knowne sinnes, may be received to Church-fellowship, although they doe not see the utmost skirts of all the pollution they have sometimes been defiled with.*

*But, saith he, the Question is not of utmost skirts, but of the substance of a true and false Bed of worship.*

What he meaneth by the *Bed of worship*, I know not. If he meane the Church, to be the Bed of worship, and the Churches of *England* to be false Churches, that Point hath been cleared above: that no voyce of Christ hath declared the Churches of *England* to be false Churches.

But yet further, the Examiner answereth, *That if there were but filthinesse in the skirts of an Harlot, he beleeveth M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton would [92] not receive an Harlot, infamous for corporall whoredome, without sound repentance, not onely for her actuall whoredomes, but also for her whorish speeches, gestures, appearances, provocations. And why should there be a greater strictnesse for the skirts of common whoredome, then for spirituall and soule-whoredome, against the chastitie of Gods worship?*

*Reply.* 1. There may be the greater strictnesse about the skirts of bodily whoredome, not because it is a greater sinne, but because it is more easily discernable, and convinceable by ordinary light.

2. Where any speeches, gestures, appearances, provocations of spirituall whoredome shall discover themselves, we beleeve there ought to be as great strictnesse about them, as about the like whorish appearances of bodily whoredome. But when will the Examiner discover to us, what those spirituall whorish gestures or speeches be, wherein we shew lesse strictnesse, then the chastitie of Gods holy worship requireth?

Touching the Polygamy of the Fathers, the Examiner answereth, three wayes.

1. *By observing what great finnes Godly Persons may be subject to, notwithstanding Godlinesse in the Roote.*

Wee consent to that, especially in case of ignorance.

2. He demandeth, *If any godly Persons should now beleieve, and maintaine, that he ought to have many wives, and accordingly did so Practise, whether M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton would receive such a godly Person to Church-fellowship?*

*Yea whether the Church of the Jewes (if they had seene the evill of it) would ever have received such a Profelyte into fellowship with them?*

The same Answers may serve to both the Demands.

1. Neither would I receive them, nor doe I thinke the Church of the Jewes would, in case the sinne had appeared so plaine and palpable, as by the light of the Gospel it hath been discovered.

2. This is not the case in hand, what my selfe or a Church ought to doe, about receiving a member living in knowne sinne: but when he that liveth in no knowne sinne, (none knowne either to himselfe, or the Church) whether the Church if they receive him, doth thereby evacuate their Church-estate? Or whether the Church, and every member thereof, be so farre bound to a distinct knowledge of all appearances of spirituall whoredome, that if they [93] be ignorant of any one or two of them, they are utterly incapable of Church-estate?

For a third Answer to the case of Polygamy, the Examiner demandeth *what was this personall sinne of Polygamy in the godly Patriarchs? Was it any matter of Gods worship, any joyning with a false Church, Ministry, Worship, Government, from whence they were to come, before they could constitute his true Church, and enjoy his Worship, Ministry, Government, &c.*

*Reply.* 1. Polygamy if it had been knowne to be as great a sinne amongst the *Israelites*, as it is now knowne to be by the Doctrine of the Lord Jesus, it is of so hainous a nature now, that every godly person guilty of it, must come out of it, before he could lawfully be received into a pure Church of Christ.

2. If a Church were now ignorant of such a knowne case, and should in their ignorance admit fundry members living in that sinne, into fellowship with them, though it would much defile them : yet I doe not conceive it would evacuate their Church-estate.

3. The Examiner will never proove, that the estate of the Churches in *England* is false, their Ministry false, nor their worship false. And as for their Episcopall Government, he is not ignorant we have come out of it both in place and heart. Neither will he ever be able to prove, that any of our Churches partake in the communion of any such knowne sinne, either in Church-estate, Worship, Ministry, Government, as Polygamy is.

But touching that place in 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. urged by the Examiner, that I might give a further Answer then before, I adde further in my Letter; *That the place was wrested besides the Apostles scope, when M<sup>r</sup>. Williams argued from it, That such Persons are not fit matter for Church-fellowship, as are defiled with any remnants of Antichristian Pollution : nor such Churches any more to be counted Churches, as doe receive such amongst them : For were there not at that time in the Church of Corinth, such as partaked with Idolaters in their Idolls Temples ? And was not this the touching of an uncleane thing ? And did this sinne reject members from Church-fellowship before Conviction ? Or did it evacuate their Church-estate for not casting out such members ?*

To this Argument the Examiner giveth (as he calleth it) an Answer in foure Paragraphs: whereof the three former hold not forth so much as the face, or shape, or colour of an Answer. 94] For in the first Paragraph, saith he, *This was indeed an uncleane thing, from which God calleth his People: and M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton confesseth, that after conviction any member obstinate in these uncleane Touches ought to be rejected.*

But what is this to the Argument?

Againe, in the next Paragraph, *Upon the same ground, (saith he) that one obstinate Person ought to be rejected out of Church-estate, upon the same ground, if a greater company or a Church were obstinate in such uncleane touches, ought every sound Christian Church to reject them, and every sound member to withdraw from them.*

But is this any more to the Argument?

In the third Paragraph, *Further (saith he) it is cleare, that if such uncleane Touches obstinately maintained, (as M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton professeth and practiseth) be a ground of a rejection of a Person in a Church, questionlesse, it is a ground of rejection when such Persons are to joyne unto the Church. And if obstinacy in the whole Church after Conviction be a ground for such a Churches rejection, questionlesse, such a Church or number of persons obstinate in such evils, cannot congregate, nor become a true constituted Church of Christ.*

But still the Argument is where it was, not onely unshaken, but untoucht. Neither is the Text in 2 Cor. 16. any whit at all cleared by these discourses, to argue them to be no true constituted Churches who live in such uncleane touches, without conviction, without obstinacy. For the Text speaketh nothing of obstinacy, nor conviction: but onely implieth, that such uncleane Touches were found in the Church of *Corinth*, and yet that did not evacuate their Church-estate.

His last Paragraph holdeth forth some more shape of an Answer, but as little substance.

*The greatest Question here* (saith he) *would be whether the Corinthians in their first Constitution were separate or no from such Idolls Temples? And this M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton neither doth nor can deny; A Church-estate being a state of marriage unto Christ Jesus; and so Paul professedly saith, He had espoused them as a chaste Virgin unto Christ, 2 Cor. 11.*

*Reply. 1.* To put any substance into this Answer, or any force pertinent to the cause in hand, it must be no great Question, but cleare out of Question, that these *Corinthians* in their first constitution were cleane, and absolutely separate from such Idolls Temples: [95] and that not onely locally, but in their soule and judgement, minde and heart, utterly cut off from such uncleane Touches, so that they both undoubtedly saw the evill thereof, and from their hearts abhorred it, and forsooke it. For all these Acts of coming off in a way of separation from the Churches of *England*, he requireth from us, as absolutely necessary to enter into a true Church-estate. *Now if he thinke that M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton (to use his words) neither doth nor can deny, that in their first constitution they were thus separate from Idolls Temples.*

I must professe, though not to him, yet to all that love and seek the Truth without prejudice, that I both can and doe deny it, that in their first constitution, they were locally separate from Idolls Temples, it is likely enough; or else I suppose the Apostle would have admonished them thereof in their first Plantation. But that in their minde and judgement, they saw the evill thereof, and did in heart and soule bewaile it, and confesse it before the Apostle and their Brethren, and so enter into solemne Covenant, expressely against it; this is altogether incredible to me: For would not the Apof-



tle then (out of his faithfullnesse) have reproved them as well for their Apostacy, as for their Fellowship in Idolatry? Would he not as well have rebuked the prevarication of their Covenant, as their pollution of their communion with Pagans?

What though a Church-estate be a state of Marriage unto Jesus Christ? May not a married Spouse of Christ be ignorant of some part of her marriage-dutie towards him? And what though *Paul* professe, *He had espoused them as a chaste Virgin to Jesus Christ*? May not he call them a chaste Virgin, who had seene and bewailed their former worship of Idolls, though they neither bewailed nor saw the evill of feasting with their neighbours in Idolls Temples?

*Reply. 2.* Though the Examiner make it a great Question whether a Church can be truly constituted, that in her first constitution is not separate from all uncleane Touches, so as both to see them, and come out of them, howsoever they may fall into such sinnes afterwards: yet I looke at it as an ungrounded distinction, to require more purity to the being of a Church in her first constitution, then is necessary to the being of it, after it is constituted. I should thinke the longer a Church hath enjoyed communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, the more shee ought to grow both in [96] knowledge and purity. Where more hath been given, the more will be required of the Lord. Yea I conceive it more agreeable to the word of Truth, that God will sooner separate from a Church constituted, for their whorish pollutions, then deny them Church-estate for the like pollutions in their first constitution. The people of *Israel* were not constituted a Nationall Church till the Lord gave them Nationall Ordinances, and Nationall Officers, and entered them together into a Nationall Covenant, *Exod.* 19. 5, 6. Their Church-

estate before, was rather domesticall, dispersed into severall Families. When they were thus constituted a Nationall Church, and afterwards fell into an Idolatrous crime, the Lord directed *Moses* to breake the Tables of his Covenant between them, and did also separate his Tabernacle from them, till upon their repentance he renewed communion with them, *Exod.* 32. 19. with *Exod.* 33. 3. to 7. But yet the like Idolatry (if not worse) being found in the same People, when they dwelt in *Ægypt*, it did not hinder the Lord from accepting them unto a Nationall Constitution of a Church-estate.

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TO CHAP. XVII. XVIII. XIX.

**H**IS 17, 18, 19. Chapters are taken up, in Examining and Answering my Answers to his second Objection, which he made to prove, a *Necessitie lying upon Godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, and come out of false Churches, Ministry, Worship, and Government.* To prove which, his first Objection, or Argument was taken from *Isaiah* 52. 11. 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. Whereto we have returned a Reply in the former Chapters. His second Objection was taken from the *Confession made by Johns Disciples, and the Profelyte Gentiles before admission into Church-fellowship*, *Mat.* 3. 6. *Act.* 19. 18. *Whence he gathered, That Christian Churches are constituted of such members, as make open and plaine confession of their sinnes: and if any sinnes be to be confessed and lamented (Jewish or Paganish) then Antichristian drunkenness and whoredome much more, &c. Yea every sipping of the Whores Cup.*

To which Objection of his, (to passe by all verball velitations, for I love not to take up time about words) the substance of my Answer was two-fold.

97] 1. *That it was not necessary to the Admission of members, that they should see, and bewaile the sinfulness of every sipping of the whores Cup, (as he called it) (though the Whores cup doe more intoxicate the minde, then the drunkards Cup doth the Body :) because bodily drunkenness and whoredome are such notorious and grosse finnes, that no man having true Repentance in him, cannot but be convinced of the sinfulness of them, and of the necessitie of repentance of them in particular, if he doe remember them. But the whores Cup being a mystery of Iniquitie, the sinfulness of every sipping of it, is nothing so evident and notorious, as that every repentant soule doth at first discern it. And therefore as the 3000 Converts, Acts 3. 37. to 47. were admitted into the first Christian Church, upon the Profession of their repentance of the murther of Christ, though they neither saw nor confessed all the superstitious leavenings wherewith the Pharisees had bewitched them: so here, &c. Yea and the Disciples of John (whom he instanceth in) though they did confesse their finnes, (the Publicans theirs, the Souldiers theirs, the People theirs :) to wit, the notorious finnes incident to their callings: yet it doth not appeare that they confessed their Pharisaicall pollutions. And the Gentiles in Act. 19. 18, 19. Though they confessed their curious Arts, and burnt their conjuring Bookes, yet it doth not appeare, that they confessed all their deeds.*

Whereunto the Examiner returneth a two-fold Answer.

1. *That spirituall whoredome and drunkenness is not indeed so easily discerned as corporall: but yet not the lesse sinfull, but infinitely transcendent, as much as spirituall sobriety exceedeth corporall; and the bed of the most High God exceedeth the beds of men, who are but dust and ashes.*

*Reply.* 1. It is an exorbitant Hyperbole to make every passage of spirituall whoredome, a sinne infinitely transcendent above bodily whoredome. For spirituall whoredome is not infinite in the act of it, but onely in respect of the object of it, to wit, in respect of the infinite God, against whom it is committed. And is not bodily whoredome infinite in that respect also? Can a man defile himselfe with bodily whoredome, and not sinne against the infinite God? What saith *Joseph*? Gen. 39. 9.

2. What if spirituall whoredome (though lesse evident) be more sinfull then bodily? The nature of true Evangelicall Repentance standeth not in seeing and bewailing every sinne, no nor alwayes of the greatest, but of those which are most evident and notorious. [98] A Christian man may more safely omit repentance of greater sins, if unknowne, then of lesse sinnes knowne. I suppose the *Israelites* were guiltie of many Idolatries, and superstitions in the dayes of *Samuel*, yet their repentance was chiefly fastned upon their asking of a King, of which they were then principally convinced, 1 *Sam.* 12. 19. And such Repentance was then accepted of the Lord, and of *Samuel*, ver. 22, 23.

The very truth is, the ground and roote of the Examiners Error in this case is, That he maketh Church-Covenant to be no better then a Covenant of workes: whereas indeed if Church-Covenant be not a branch of the Covenant of grace, the Churches of Christ are not built upon Christ. In a Covenant of workes, all sinnes must be avoyed: or if not avoyded, yet repented of expresly, and the greatest sinnes most. But in Evangelicall Repentance, God *dealeth not with us after our sinnes, nor rewardeth us according to our Iniquities*, Psal. 103. 10. The Grace of Christ is not given either to his Church, or to any Christian, upon the perfection of our

Repentance, nor upon our Repentance of our greatest finnes, in the greatest measure. But if the heart be truly humbled for any knowne sinne, as sinne, though the sinne knowne be often lesse hainous, then others unknowne, yet God accepteth his own worke, and putteth away all sinne in the acknowledgement of one. Yea in finnes that be knowne, the compunction of the heart is sometimes more exprested for the occasions and inducements of the sinne, which are lesse hainous; then for the greater finnes, which are more grievous and dangerous. *Solomon* in his solemne Repentance in the Booke of *Ecclesiastes*, doth more expressely bewaile his entanglement with lewd women, *Ecclef.* 7. 27, 28. then all his Idolatrous Temples and worship, which were erected, and maintained at his charge. By the Examiners Doctrine, *Solomon* had never been received, and restored to the Church upon that Repentance.

His second Answer is, *That though the converted Jewes did not see all the leavenings of the Pharisees, yet they mourned for killing of Christ, and embraced him in his Worship, Ministry, Government, &c. and thereupon necessarily followeth a withdrawing from the Church, Ministry, and Worship of the false Christ, &c.*

*Reply.* This answer doth not reach the defence of his cause, to wit, *That it is absolutely necessary unto Church-fellowship, to see and bewaile, [99] not onely actuall whoredomes, but also whorish speeches, gestures, appearances, provocations.* Yet here he granteth, that *the converted Jewes did not see all the leavenings of the Pharisees, which yet were such, as in the end of that Paragraph, he implyeth they had detained them under a false Christ.*

But whereas he saith, that *they by embracing Christ, in his Worship and Ministry, there necessarily followed a with-*

*drawing from the Church, Ministry, and worship of the false Christ.*

It may truly be Replyed, 1. That he will not grant us that liberty, that upon our embracing of Christ in his worship & Ministry, there necessarily followeth our withdrawing from the Church, Ministry, and Worship, wherein we had been formerly polluted in any sort. Is not this to deteine the glorious Truth of our Lord Jesus with respect of Persons?

2. It is evident by the Story, that some of those members of the Church of *Hierusalem*, who had been leavened by the sect of the *Pharisees*, they did neither see nor bewaile, nor did come off from fellowship with the *Pharisees* in their Ministry, and false Doctrine, which taught the necessitie of Circumcision, and of the whole Law of *Moses* to justification and salvation, *Acts* 15. 1. 5.

As for the confession of sinne by the Disciples unto *John Baptist*, (*Mat.* 3.) and by the Gentiles unto *Paul*, (*Act.* 19.) though it be not said, that the one sort confessed their Pharisaeicall pollutions, nor the other all their Deeds:

*Yet* (saith he) *if both these confest their notorious finnes*, (as *M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton* confesseth) *why not as well their notorious finnes against God, their Idolatries, superstitions, worships, &c?* Surely throughout the whole Scripture, the matters of God, and his worship, are first and most tenderly handled, &c.

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* It is not true, that the matters of Gods worship and defects there, are alwayes most tenderly acknowledged throughout the Confessions of the Saints in Scripture. *Solomon* in his Repentance was most sparing of confession of his Idolatrous Temples and worships. And the People in *Samuel* did more repent of asking a King, then of all their other finnes, and yet their Idolatries were then flagrant, 1 *Sam.* 12 9, 10, 11. Besides, wee never reade of such deepe Humili-

ation of *David* for carrying the Arke after the manner of the *Philistims*, as of his bodily adultery with *Bathsbebah*, and murder of *Uriah*.

100] The substance of my other Answer to his former Objection, which was to prove *a necessitie lying upon godly men to see and bewaile their pollutions in a former Church-fellowship, before they can be fit matter for a new.*

It was to this purpose, that we have not been wanting (through the guidance of the grace of Christ) to performe that which he pleadeth for, so farre as God hath called us to it: the which I expressed in my Letter in two particulars:

1. *That the body of our members doe in generall Professe, that the reason of their coming over to us, was that they might be freed from the bondage of humane Inventions and Ordinances, under which as their soule groaned there, so they have professed their sorrow, so farre as through ignorance or infirmitie they have been defiled there.*

2. *That in our daily meetings, especially in the times of our solemne Humiliations, we doe generally all of us bewaile all our former Pollutions, wherewith we have defiled our selves, and the holy things of God in our former Administrations, and Communions: the which we have rather chosen to doe, then to talke of, and therefore doe marvell, that he should so resolutely renounce us for that, which he knew not whether we had neglected or no, and before he had admonished us of our sinfulness in such neglect, if it had been found amongst us.*

Whereto his Answer is; *That we make no mention, what such Inventions, and Ordinances, what such Administrations and Communions were, which we confessed and bewailed.*

Reply. And yet lest he should too much wound his own Conscience with such a generall charge, he acknowledgeth; *That we have borne witnesse against Bishops, and Ceremonies,*

and doe constitute onely particular and Independent Churches, and have therefore so farre at least seene the evill of a Nationall Church. But I dare say further, that his own Conscience beareth him witnesse, that we have witnessed also both in Profession and Practise, against Prescript Liturgies and mixt Communiones, both in Church-fellowship, and at the Lords Table.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The views of Cotton respecting "Prescript Liturgies" and "mixt Communiones" are fully presented in his "Way of the Churches," pp. 70 to 80. His objections to a Liturgy were also presented in a treatise published three years earlier, entitled "A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Balls Discourse of Set formes of Prayer. Set forth in a most Seasonable time, when this Kingdome is now in Consultation about Matters of that Nature, and so many godly Long after the Resolution in that Point. Written by the Reverend and Learned *John Cotton*, B. D. and Teacher of the Church of Christ at *Boston* in new *England*. London 1642." This discourse, the occasion of which is fully explained by Cotton on page 23, *ante*, was published without his knowledge. It forms a quarto of forty-nine pages, and examines nine reasons which Mr. Ball had advanced on the other side. But the change in Cotton's opinions on the question of the use of forms of prayer had taken place some time before the publication of this discourse, since we find him writing under date of October, 1635, to the members of his former parish in England: "That if I were with them again, I durst not take that liberty which sometimes I had done: I durst not joyne in Book-prayers: I durst not now partake in the Sacraments with

you: to wit, in respect of those scandalous persons who communicate with you, and will settle upon their Lees with the more security by your fellowship with them." See "Way of Cong. Churches Cleared," pp. 28, 29.

The language of Williams (*ante*, p. 23,) leaves us to infer that Cotton, so long as he remained in England, had felt no scruple about using the Book of Common Prayer. This is confirmed by Cotton's own account, from which it is clear that his difficulty, so far as the mode of worship was concerned, related to ceremonies. In reply to the statement of Baylie, that while in England he had only fallen off from the practice of some of the ceremonies; Cotton says, "For (by the grace of Christ) I forbore all the Ceremonies alike at once, many years before I left *England*. The first grounds which prevailed with me to forbear one Ceremony, would not allow me to practise any. The grounds I well remember were two: 1. The significance and efficacy put upon them in the Preface to the Book of Common-prayer: 'That they were neither dumb nor dark, but apt to stir up the dull minde of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he may be edified,' or words to the like purpose.

"The second was the limitation of



What hath been then wanting to us? *That we doe not fully see the evill of a Nationall Church*; How doth he make it to appear?

By two Instances.

*By our constant Practise in still joyning with such Churches and Ministry in the Ordinances of the Word and Prayer: and*

Church-power (even of the highest Apostolicall Commission) to the observation of the Commandments of Christ, Matth. 28. 20. which made it appear to me utterly unlawfull for any Church-power to enjoyn the observation of indifferent Ceremonies which Christ had not commanded. And all the Ceremonies were alike destitute of the commandment of Christ, though they had been indifferent otherwise, which indeed others have justly pleaded they were not.

"What favor I was offered not onely for connivance, but for preferment, if I would have conformed to any one of the Ceremonies, I forbear to mention. Yea, when I was suspended upon speciall complaint made against me to the King that then was, and all hope of restitution denied to me, without yeelding to some conformity, at least in one Ceremony at least once; yet the good hand of the Lord so kept me, that I durst not buy my Ministry so dear: And yet (I thank the Lord) my Ministry was dearer to me (to speak the least) than any preferment.

"When the Bishop of Lincoln-Dioceffe (Dr. Mountaigne) offered me liberty upon once kneeling at Sacrament with him the next Lord-day after: or else to give some reason, why (in conscience I could not) unto Dr. Davenant (then Bishop-elect of Salisbury, who was at

that time present with him at Westminster) I durst not accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling; but I gave them this reason for my excuse and defence, *Cultus non institutus, non est acceptus: Genuflexio in perceptione Eucharistiae est cultus non institutus; Ergo, non est acceptus.*" Way of Cong. Churches, pp. 18, 19.

The change in Cotton's sentiments was received with disapprobation by many of his friends in England. In 1637 a number of Puritan ministers wrote over to the ministers of New England complaining that they had embraced new opinions "which they in England then judged to be groundless and unwarrantable." The first of these opinions was, "That a stinted form of prayer and set liturgy is unlawful." They add, "that letters in New England had induced many in Old to leave their Assemblies, because of a stinted liturgy, and to absent themselves from the Lord's supper because such as ought to be were not debarred from it." Hooker wrote to Shepard respecting this letter, "I confess freely to thee my fears that the first and second questions, touching a stinted form of prayer, will prove very hard to make any handsome work upon." See Hutchinson's History, 1, 81. London, 1765.

The treatise of Ball, mentioned on p. 23, note 6, *ante*, was prompted by the spread of these "new opinions" in England.

by our Persecuting [101] of him for his humble, faithfull, and constant admonishing of us for such an uncleane walking, between a particular Church, and a Nationall.

*Reply.* Our joyning with the Ministers of *England* in hearing of the Word and Prayer, doth not argue our Church-Communion with the Parish-Churches in *England*, much lesse with the Nationall Church: as hath been shewed above in *Chap.* 14.

Besides, when *Jeroboam* heard the word from the young Prophet of *Judab*, and joyned with him in Prayer, I demand whether in so doing, he joyned in Church-Communion with the Nationall Church of *Judab*? If yea, then was the Church of *Judab* pollutedly the uncleane Communion of Idolatrous *Jeroboam*: If not, then the Examiner may easily discerne, how weake an Argument it is to argue our Communion with the Nationall Church of *England*, from our members joyning in the Hearing of the Word, and Prayer in the Parish-Churches of *England*.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> “The *Discusser* sometimes endeavoured to draw away the Church of *Salem* (whereof he was sometime Teacher) from holding Communion with all the Churches in the Bay, because wee tolerated our members to heare the word in the Parishes of *England*. Wee to satisfie him in that, held forth (that which here he calleth a varnish) that hearing was a common Duty lying upon all men, where the word of God was truly taught. He replied, as he doth now, that Teaching and hearing in a Church-Estate is Church worship, *Acts* 2. 46. To which we gave Answer (as now againe) That though Teaching and being taught in a Church-Estate be Church-Worship (according to *Acts* 2. 46.) yet it is not a Church-Worship, but to such as are in

a Church-Estate: To all it is an holy Ordinance of Gods worship, and a Christian Duty. And though Teaching and hearing doth imply a Relation, yet not a Church-relation. There is a relation between a Teacher and a Learner, in any Art, or Knowledge: and there may be a nearer relation between a Preacher and an Hearer, in case the Hearer be begotten to God by such a Sermon (even the same relation as is between a Spiritual Father, and Sonne:) but this doth not amount to Church-relation, and Communion, till there passe some mutuall profession of Covenant (explicit or implicit) between them. A Pagan Infidell may come into a Christian Church-Assembly to heare the word, and may be convinced and converted by it, (as sup-

His second Instance to make it appeare, *That we see not the evill of a Nationall Church, from our Persecuting of him, &c.*

In this I choose rather to blame his memory then his conscience. But the one of them is much to blame, in that it maketh him so farre forget himselfe and the Truth, as boldly to avouch a notorious falshood; *That we Persecuted him for his humble, and faithfull, and constant admonishing of us of such uncleane walking, between a particular Church and a Nationall.*

It is one notable falshood to say, that he did constantly admonish, either our Elders or Churches of such an offence; much lesse, humbly, and faithfully. If he did so admonish us, where are his witnesses? His Letters? his Messengers sent to us?

Besides, It is another falshood, and no lesse palpable, that we did persecute him for such admonishing of us. It hath been declared above, upon what grounds the sentence of his Banishment did Proceed:<sup>57</sup> whereof this Admonition (which he pretendeth) was none of them; neither did they persecute him at all, who did so proceed against him.

Now whereas in that Passage of the Letter even now recited I said, *He knew not what Professions we had made in our Churches of our Humiliations for former Pollutions, nor had he admonished us of our defects therein: He demandeth how he could possibly be ignorant of our estate, who had been from first to last in fellowship with us, an Officer [102] amongst us, had private*

pose he in *Corinth*, 1 *Corinthians* 14. 24, 25.) yet is he not therefore joyned in Church-Estate, and Fellowship with them, without profession of acknowledgement, and acceptance." *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, p. 166.

<sup>57</sup> For these grounds see, *ante*, pp. 24 to 30. It is worthy of note that while in the passage above Williams lays great

stress on his views respecting communion with the English churches as a cause of his banishment, he makes no allusion whatever to his opinions respecting the power of the civil magistrates, as contributing to the same result, although such allusion would naturally find a place in a discussion respecting "the evill of a National Church."

*and publique agitations concerning our estate and condition, and at last suffered for such Admonition to us, the misery of a Winters Banishment amongst the Barbarians?*

*Reply.* As if every man in fellowship with us, an Officer amongst us, one that had private and publique agitations with us, must needs know what our members professed in their admissions to the Church, or what our Elders confessed in their dayes of solemne Humiliation, when himselfe was generally absent, both on the Lords dayes, and on the dayes of solemne fasting? Or as if the private and publique agitations that he had with us, were taken up about our Communion with a Nationall Church? I am yet to learne, what Arguments he did propound to us in that cause: what convictions he left upon us. When he is still so full of the miseries of his winters banishment amongst the *Barbarians*, it maketh me call to minde a grave and godly speech of a blessed Saint, now with God, (reverend Mr. Dod)<sup>58</sup> *Where sinne lyeth heavy, afflictions lyeth light: where affliction lyeth heavy, sinne lyeth light.*

<sup>58</sup> The Rev. John Dod, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, was born in 1549. He was afterwards settled for twenty years at Hanwell, in Oxfordshire. He was a subscriber to the "Book of Discipline," and was suspended for several years, but on the accession of James the First was restored, and continued in the ministry until his death, in 1645. Like all the leading Puritan divines he had a very high reputation for learning, and Archbishop Usher said of him, "Whatever some affirm of Mr. Dod's strictness, and scrupling some ceremonies, I desire that when I die my soul may rest with his." He was much in the habit of uttering pithy maxims, which might be seen pasted on the walls of cottages. For

the one here quoted he was, however, indebted to his father-in-law, Mr. Greenham.

Dod was deservedly held in great esteem by Cotton, who spoke of him when dying. See, *ante*, p. 83, note 50. Before relinquishing his charge in England Cotton consulted Dod, who gave this advice, "I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still, and bear the brunt; but you being young Peter, may go whither you will, and ought, being persecuted in one city, to flee unto another;" and when it was urged by some of the Boston church that should Cotton leave, very many of them would be exposed to extreme temptation, Dod replied, "That the removing of a minister was like the

## TO CHAP. XX.

**T**HE maine Objection which Mr. *Williams* made against the Estate of our Church-members, was chiefly this; That though he acknowledgeth them to be godly, yet not sufficiently separate from Antichrist. And that he endeavoured to prove, 1. From the Texts that call for separation from *Babylon*, *Isa.* 52. *2 Cor.* 6. *Rev.* 18. 2. From the confession of sinnes made by *Johns* Disciples, *Mat.* 3. and the Profelyte Gentiles, *Acts* 19. To both these we have returned Answer already.

His third Objection followeth from *Haggai* 2. 13, 14, 15. where the Prophet telleth the Church of the *Jewes*, *That if a Person uncleane by a dead body, doe touch holy things, those holy things become uncleane to him. And so (saith he) is this Nation, and so is every worke of their hands, and that which they offer here is uncleane.* And from hence he argueth; *That even Church-Covenants made and Ordinances practised by persons polluted through spirituall deadnesse, and filthinesse of Communion, they become uncleane to them, and are prophaned by them: which he solemnely desireth might be advisedly weighed.*

103] Whereto my Answer was; *That if he had well weighed this place himselfe, he would never have alledged it to his purpose. His purpose was to prove, that Churches cannot be constituted of such members, as are uncleane by Antichristian pollutions: or if they be so constituted, they are not to be Communicated with, but separated from. To prove this, you alledge (said I) this*

draining of a fish pond: the good fish will follow the water, but eels, and other baggage fish, will stick in the mud." According to Cotton Mather there were two ways especially in which Cotton followed the example of Dod, in not

quoting Latin in Sermons, and in making short family prayers. Dod was one of the signers of the Letter to the ministers of New England, mentioned *ante*, p. 100, note 55. See Fuller's *Worthies*, part 1, p. 181. Brooks's *Lives*, 3, 1.

place, where the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church to be uncleane, and yet neither denieth them to be a Church truly constituted, nor stirreth up himselfe, or others to separate from them. If you say, why, but they were uncleane.

I answered; Be it so. But were they therefore no Church truly Constituted? Or to be separated from? Did not Haggai, and Zachary themselves Communicate with them? And did they not call others also to come out of Babel to Communicate with them, even whilest Joshua the High Priest was still polluted with his uncleane Garments? Zach. 2. 6, 7. with Chapt. 3. 8.

Whereupon I tooke occasion to cleare up to him the occasion, and scope, and true sence of the words at large, as may appeare in the Letter, which having gathered up I said, *That if he did apply it to the Point in hand, it would reach nothing neere to his purpose. Hypocrites in the Church, yea and godly sincere Christians themselves, whilest they attend to the world more then to the things of God, (as at that time the Jewes did) both their persons, and their labours, and their Civill Oblations are uncleane in the sight of God:*

*Therefore the Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such: or if it doe consist of such, the People of God must separate from them. You might well have gathered.*

*Therefore the Church of Christ, and the members thereof must separate themselves from their hypocrisie and inordinate love of this world, or else they and their duties will still be uncleane in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Church-Estate.*

*This Collection tendeth to edification; the other to dissipation, and destruction of the Church, and wresteth Bloud instead of Milke from the Breasts of holy Scripture.*

This Text is so evident, and pregnant, and full against himselfe, that I could not but marvell, why he should alledge it, and especially why he should desire it might be thoroughly

*weighed, and the Lord to hold the scales himselfe.* How doe you then thinke, that he will hence inferre his Conclusion; That Godly persons, if uncleane, [104] cannot constitute a true Church? or if they doe, they are to be separated from? Surely not from the words of the Text, nor from the sence, which I make of it: nor from any sence, which himselfe can give of it. How then? Onely from his mistake of my words, and that surely either through a drouisie Ofcitaney, or a sleighty Precipitancy.

*What (saith he) have I spoken more then M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton himselfe hath uttered in his Explication and Application of this Scripture; As,*

1. *That Godly persons may become defiled, and uncleane, by hypocrisie and worldlinesse.*

2. *While they lye in such a condition of uncleannesse, all their offerings, persons, labours are uncleane in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Church-estate.*

3. *The Church cannot be constituted of such worldly Persons (though otherwise godly and Christian.)*

Or 4. *If they doe, the People of God must separate from them. These be (saith he) M<sup>r</sup>. Cottons own expresse words.*

*Reply.* He might as well say, these be the expresse words of Christ, *Hang all the Law, and the Prophets*, because Christ saith, (*Mat. 19. 40.*) *upon these two Commandements, Hang all the Law and the Prophets.* So these be my expresse words; *The true and genuine meaning of the place, if you doe apply to the Point in hand, it will reach nothing neere to your purpose. Hypocrites in the Church and godly Christians themselves, whilst they attend to the world more then to the things of God, their persons, their labours, their Civill Oblations are all uncleane in the sight of God. Ergo. The Church of Christ cannot be consti-*

*tuted of such: or if it doe consist of such, the People of God must separate from them.*

Who seeth not that attendeth to what he seeth, that in these words I expresse not mine own meaning or reasoning, but his: and that I expressly say, The true meaning of the Text will nothing neere reach to his purpose, and so bring in his reason, in forme of an Enthymeme, which he draws from it? But if I had made that Enthymeme the expression of mine own meaning, and of the meaning of the Text, it had fully and closely reached his own purpose.

The next words following might also plainly have cleared my meaning to him: when in stead of that false collection which he [105] gathered, I tell him, you might well have gathered: *therefore the Church of Christ, and the members thereof must separate themselves from their hypocrisie, and their inordinate love of this world: Or else they and their duties will be still uncleane in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Church-estate.*

*This Collection tendeth to edification: the other to the dissipation, and destruction of the Flock, and wresteth bloud instead of milke from the Breasts of holy Scripture.*

Doe I not here plainly expresse two severall, and contrary Collections from the Text, the one his, the other mine own; the one tending to edification, the other to destruction? And yet this false collection, and misapplication of the Text, which is his own, and a manifest Perverting both of the Text, and of my words, he will needs force upon me, contrary to my meaning, and contrary also to my expresse words above in the entrance of mine Answer to this Text. Where I say,

*Your purpose was to prove, That Churches cannot be constituted by such persons as are uncleane by Antichristian pollu-*



tions: or if they be so constituted, they are not to be communicated with, but separated from. To prove this, you alledge this place where the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church of the Jewes to be unclean: and yet neither denieth them to be a Church truly constituted, nor stirreth up himselfe or others to separate from them.

What by the way he discourseth of the Excommunication in the Nationall Church of the Jewes, somewhat hath been spoken to it above. When he saith, *That their Ceremoniall Excommunication was either putting to death in Canaan, or Captivitie out of Canaan.* If he meane this was all their Excommunication, I cannot assent to it. King Uzziab was neither put to death in *Canaan*, nor carried captive out of *Canaan*, and yet he was Excommunicated both from Temple-worship, Synagogue-worship, and all familiar communion of the Saints.

Againe, when he maketh it an Excommunication from God, in case God sell his Church into spirituall Captivitie, to confused Babylonish Lords, and worship, and that so he driveth them out of his sight: He might remember, that God sometime sold his people under the Bondage of Babylonish Lords, even in the Land of *Canaan*, (Jer. 40. 9. & 42. 10, 11, 12.) And yet he had not straight way driven them out of his sight.

**I**T was my serious and unfeigned endeavour, in my Letter which the Examiner hath answered, to have removed those two stumbling blocks out of his way, which I perceived had turned him off, from holding fellowship with these Churches.

The former was, *The want of fit matter of our Churches*: The latter, *Our dis-respect to the separate Churches in England, under affliction, when neverthelesse our selves practise separation in peace.*

From the beginning of his tenth Chapter, he hath endeavoured to fasten the former of these stumbling blocks, that it may still lie in his way, and stand (as an everlasting wall of partition) between us. Which neverthelesse I have (as you see) through the helpe of Christ endeavoured to dig through the sandinesse thereof, that if it were the holy will of God, it might fall downe (like the walles of *Jericho*) before the Arke of the Lord, and neither detaine him, nor others, from Communion with us.

The latter stumbling block, he goeth about to re-establish in this, and the following Chapters to the end of his Booke; Come we therefore to consider, whether there may be any hope, of removing this stumbling block also, and the establishment thereof by the same helpe. The stumbling block lieth somewhat broader, then at first was propounded. The Examiner takes it as a great offence; *That we walke between Christ and Antichrist.*

1. *In practising separation here, and not repenting of our preaching, and printing against it in our own Countrey.*<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Among the Puritan divines conspicuous as opponents of Separation, were Ames and Parker, to whom Cotton was so much indebted, see, *ante*, notes 36 and 50. And although Cotton became afterwards the foremost advocate of the Congregational discipline established in New England, yet he was never willing to acknowledge any affinity with the early Separatists. When Baylie, in his "Diffuasive," declared that the Separatists, through Robinson and the Church

at Leyden, were the Fathers of the New England Churches, Cotton replied, "That the Separatists were our Fathers, we have justly denyed it above; seeing they neither begat us to God, nor to the Church, nor to their Schisms. That we are (through grace) begotten to God, and to his Church, we received (many of us) from the blessing of Christ upon the Ministry of *England*. That we grew weary of the burden of Episcopacy and Conformity, we received from the

2. In reproaching himselfe at Salem, and others, for separation.

3. In particular, that my selfe have conceived and spoken, That separation is a way, which God hath not prospered: as if (saith he) the truth of the Churches depended upon the countenance of men, or upon outward peace and libertie.

To the first of these I answered in my Letter, *That in stead of halting betwixt Christ, and Antichrist, the Lord hath guided us to walke with an even foote between two extreames: so that we neither defile our selves with the remnants of pollution in other Churches; nor doe we for the remnants of pollution, renounce the Churches themselves, nor the holy things of God amongst them, which our selves have found powerfull to [107] salvation. This moderation so farre as we have kept it in preaching or printing, we have seene no cause to repent of it; But if any shall shew us cause, why we should repent of it, we shall desire to repent of it, yea and to repent, that we repented no sooner.*

Word of God by the help of the Non-conformists there. That we laid aside the Book of Common-prayer, we received from the serious meditation of the second Commandment, and not from the writings of the Separatists, though they also have taken up the same conclusion upon other premises. The particular visible Church of a Congregation to be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. Parker, Mr. Baynes, and Dr. Ames: from whom also, (from two of them at least) we received light out of the Word, for the matter of the visible Church to be visible Saints; and for the Form of it, to be a naturall Covenant, whether an explicite or implicate Profession of Faith, and subjection to the Gospel of Christ in the society of the Church, or Presbytery thereof. And these be the chief

Doctrines and practises of our way, so far as it differeth from other Reformed Churches. And having received them, not from the Separatists, but from the Lord Jesus, by gracious Saints, and faithfull witneses of Jesus; the consanguinity of our Tenents with any the like found amongst the Separatists, will not demonstrate the Separatists to be our Fathers.

"It is very likely (and by the fruits of some of them, it is very evident) that the Church of Plymouth in New England received very much light and life, by the blessing of Christ upon Mr. Robinson his Ministry, whilst he lived with them in Holland: nor need we to be ashamed, to learn any truth of God from him, or them, or from any other Saints of God, of farre meaner gifts, than he or they had received. But I must confesse ingenuously, that his denyall of the Parishionall

The Examiner here undertaketh to prove this *middle walking to be no lesse then halting, of which we have cause to repent.* And this he endeavours to prove to me, out of mine own Confessions.

*First, saith he, M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton himselfe confesseth, that no Nationall, Provinciall, Diocesan, or Parish Church, wherein some truly godly are not, are true Churches.*

*Secondly, He practiseth no Church-estate, but such as is constituted onely of godly persons, nor admitteth any unregenerate, or ungodly persons.*

*Thirdly, He confesseth, that a Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such godly persons, who are in bondage to the inordinate love of the world.*

*Fourthly, That if a Church consist of such, Gods people ought to separate from them.*

*Reply.* If these (which he calleth confessions of M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton) have been stumblings to him, I shall (by the helpe of

Congregations in *England* to be true Churches, (either by reason of their mixt and corrupt matter, or for defect in their Covenant, or for excesse of their Episcopall Government) was never received into any heart, from thence to inferre a nullity of their Church-estate. Neither was our departure from them even in those evill times, a Separation from them as no Churches, but rather a Secession from the corruptions found amongst them, unto which also we must have been forced to conformance, even in our own Practise through the Rigour of the times, unlessse wee had timely departed from them. In which case, Doctor Ames will excuse us (yea and the Holy Ghost also) from asperision of schism or any other sin, in so doing." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 14.

That the attitude of Cotton towards the Separatists gave offence to the Plymouth church is very clear from the curious tract of Governor Bradford, called "A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England and sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England, Anno Domini 1648." In it Bradford says: "For our Churches here in New England do the same thing under the name of *Secession* from the corruptions found amongst them, as the other did under the name or term of *Separation* from them—Only this declines the odium the better." See Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 417. The difference between the Puritans and the Separatists is set forth by Prince, Annals, pp. 302, 305.

Christ) soone remove them out of his way. For I doe professe, that I never made any such Confessions, but looke at them all as contrary to my judgement, both in former times and to this day.

For the first, Though there were no truely godly persons in a Church, yet if there be such as professe godlinesse (such as they call visible Saints) to meete together in a Congregation to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another in the administration of his holy Ordinances, I doe beleeeve there is truth of Church-estate.

It is true, I doe beleeeve, and confesse, that God requireth more then profession of godlinesse, even sinceritie of holinesse in Church-members, and it is no small sinne in them, if it be wanting; But what if some, if most, if all beleeeve not? *Shall their unbeliefe make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid?* Rom. 3. 3, 4. If an hypocriticall Church were no Church, then an hypocriticall Minister were no Minister, and his administrations nullities. *Cultus institutus*, in the whole latitude of it, as Churches, Ministeries, Seales, Censures, &c. they are all ordained for the Elects sake. And the 108] Elect God would have them to be ἀμερίμως, without carefull scruples and distractions. If truth of Churches, and Ministeries, and Ordinances, depended upon the personall sinceritie of the godlinesse of the dispensers, the Elect of God would ever be intangled with inextricable scruples, touching their communion here or there, with this or that Church, or the administrations of the Officers thereof. But God hath called us in peace.

For the second part (which he maketh) of my Confessions, he had said true, if he had said, I endeavour such a thing, that our Church should be constitute of godly persons: but I doe not say I have attained it; for God seeth not as man

feeth : man looketh at the outward appearance, but the Lord regardeth the heart, 1 Sam. 16. 7. And sure I am, we looke at Infants as members of our Church, (as being fæderally holy) but I am slow to beleeeve that all of them are regenerate, or truly godly.

As for the third and fourth point (which he maketh) of my Confession ; *That a Church of Christ cannot be constituted of godly persons, taken with the inordinate love of the world : or that a Church consisting of such, ought to be separated from :* These are onely his own palpable mistakes of those words of mine, which I expresse as the summe of his words, which he (through hast) conceived to be mine, whereof we have spoken in the 20<sup>th</sup> Chapter.

Let him not say (as he doth) that when I would not have *Parish Churches to be separated from, for the remnants of pollution, I mean onely, Ceremonies, and Bishops : neither let him say, that I doe extenuate and mince the roote, masse, and substance of the matter of Nationall Churches, (though for the greater part unregenerate) by naming onely a remnant of pollutions.*

For he knoweth we wholly avoyde Nationall, Provinciaall, and Diocesane Government of the Churches by Episcopall Authority : He knoweth also, we avoyde their prescript Liturgies, and Communion with openly scandalous persons in any Church-order ; He knoweth likewise, (or at least may know) that it is a continuall sorrow of heart, and a mourning of our soules, that there is yet so much of those notorious evils (which he nameth) still continuing in the Parishes, worldlinesse, ignorance, superstition, scoffing, swearing, cursing, whoredome, drunkenness, theft, lying, I may adde also murder, and malignity against the godly, suffered [109] to thrust themselves into the fellowship of the Churches, and to sit downe with the Saints at the Lords Table.

But yet I count all these but remnants of pollution, when as the substance of the true estate of Churches abideth (as I opened above) in their Congregationall Assemblies. And in so speaking, I follow the holy patterne of the Prophet *Isaiah*, who acknowledging a great forsaking (or Apostacy) in the midst of the Land, yet resembleth the estate of the Church to an Oake, whose substance is in it, (when the leaves fall off) and maketh the holy seed to be that substance, *Isai.* 6. 12, 13.

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TO CHAP. XXII.

**T**He second offence which the Examiner tooke at our neglect of the Churches of the separation, *Was the reproach of himselfe and others at Salem, for their separation.*

To which I answered in my Letter, *That I knew no man who reproached Salem for their separation, nor did I beleieve, that they did separate. Howsoever, if any did reproach them for it, I did thinke it a sinne meete to be Censured, but not with so deepe a Censure, as to excommunicate all the Churches, or to separate from them, before it doth appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in such their causlesse reproachings. The errors of men are to be contended against, not with reproaches, but with the sword of the Spirit. But on the other side, the failings of the Churches are not forthwith to be healed by separation. It is not Chirurgery, but Butchery, to heale every sore in a member, with no other but Abscission from the body.*

Whereto the Examiner answereth, *That the Church of Salem was knowne to professe separation, and publicly reproached (yea he could mention a Case wherein shee was punished) for it, implicitly.*

*Reply.* This answer is so implicit, that I cannot make an explicite answer to it. That which I said, was, *I knew no man that reproached Salem for their separation: nor did I beleve, that they did separate.* His answer is, *That the Church of Salem was knowne to professe separation:* which crosseth not what I said; for it might be so, and yet I knew not of it, unlesse the profession had been more publick. Nor did I ever perceive, that they refused communion with [110] us, when any of them came over to us. If they were publickly reproached for separation, it was more then I heard of, till I read it in his Booke. And for any publick punishment that *Salem* suffered for it, I may well say, it was implicitly, if at all; for surely there is no Law of the Countrey, that punisheth such an offence, either explicitly, or implicitly. But since he is pleased to conceale it, I see no cause of giving account of it.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Although the Salem church called Williams to be their teacher, he "being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions," yet that by this act they did not design "to professe separation," was clearly shown by the fact that he himself afterwards renounced communion with them for the expreis reason that they would not separate from the churches of the Bay. (*ante*, p. 39, note 19.) Nor was it correct to say that the Salem church was punished for professing separation, for the only proceedings to which the term punishment could with any propriety be applied, the action of the Court with reference to the Marblehead land, and the refusal to receive the deputies from Salem, had no reference whatever to any threatened separation. See Winthrop, 1, 164.

How far the views of Williams were embraced at Salem is a question that can-

not be easily decided. Winthrop says the "whole church was grieved" by his threat to renounce communion with them, and that after he had done so they "openly disclaimed his errors," pp. 166, 171. Again he assigns as a reason for the final summary execution of the sentence, "because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinions, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narragansett Bay," p. 175. And he adds, that Williams "had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of decent women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches, for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the ministers there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them," p. 176, but further on he states, that when the Salem church asked the other churches with reference to those



Nextly, He takes up from me a Confession of two things, which he leaveth to me to reconcile: 1. *That I say, if any reproach them for Separation, it is a sinne meete to be Censured.* 2. *That Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causelesse reproachings.*

*Reply.* It is true, that I doe not account reproaches, (which are a worke of the flesh) a meete remedy to heale an error: And therefore the reproacher meete to be delt withall, either by private admonition, (if his reproach were private;) or with a publick admonition, if it were publick. But the latter of the two things which he saith I confesse, I am farre from either confessing it, or beleeving it; to wit, *That the Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causelesse reproachings.*

I said indeed, *that a causelesse reproach is a sinne meete to be censured: But I said withall, it is not to be censured with so*

who desired to separate, whether it "were not better to grant them dismission to be a church by themselves," the magistrates "would not allow them to be a church, being but three men, and eight women." It seems probable from these statements, that while the great body of the church were attached to Williams, but a small number adopted his extreme views. It seems also clear that the dispute was not respecting Toleration but Separation.

The question has been raised whether this whole controversy has not been invested by later writers with an importance which did not belong to it. Winthrop mentions a circumstance which will help to furnish an answer. About the time that Williams fled from Salem, a difficulty arose in the church at Sagus, which the magistrates settled by requir-

ing the minister "to remove out of the town within three months," page 177. Under date of February 25, 1636, Winthrop writes, "The distractions about the churches of Salem and Sagus, and the removal of other churches, and the great scarcity of corn, etc. occasioned a general fast to be proclaimed," evidently regarding all these reasons as possessing about the same significance.

Another fact which may be cited as bearing upon the same question is that Johnson, in his "Wonder-working PROVIDENCE OF SIGNS SAVIOUR," which was published in 1654, makes no mention of Roger Williams, although he enters at length into the controversies awakened by Gorton and Anne Hutchinson. The views of Williams respecting the Civil Magistrates, and Church ordinances, are possibly alluded to on pp. 8 and 24.

*deepe a Censure, as excommunication, especially of all the Churches, and that too, before that it doe appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in such their causelesse reproachings.*

But it may be, he will say, doth it not imply, that if it doth appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in such causelesse reproaches, that then I thinke they are to be separated from?

*Ans. No verily: Put it in a like case: Suppose a childe should miscall and revile his Mothers Sister, I might say, it is a fault meete to be corrected, yet not with so deepe a correction, as to be disinherited: or that his Mother should be dispossessed of her inheritance, before it doe appeare, that she doe tolerate her childe in such revilings. Would such a speech inferre, that in case it did appeare, his Mother did tolerate him, that then his Mother were to be dispossessed of her inheritance? The true meaning of my speech, was to expresse, that such a sinne, as reproaching of a Church for a sin, might deserve a Censure: yet not forthwith excommunication: [111] much lesse the Church to be excommunicated, whereof such an one is a member, and least of all, before it did appear, that the Church knew of it, or did tolerate it: The scope of my speech was, not to hold forth the grievous desert of a reproach, but the groundlesse proceeding unto separation for a reproach, both against a member, and against the Church that tolerated him, without any further conviction, or obstinacy, which was the case in hand of Mr. Williams. Somebody, he saith, reproached the Church of Salem for separation, some member of some Church. But what member of what Church, he saith not? And yet this is one of the stumbling blocks that turned him out of the way of communion with all the Churches in the Countrey, who (for ought I know) never heard of it unto this day.*

Let him now say, that mine owne confessions are sufficient Answers to my selfe, as if I granted, that in case the member had been knowne, who so reproached *Salem*, and the Church knowne whereof he was a member, *That then there were a lawfull separation from the Church that doth but tolerate her member in a causelesse reproach, yea and from all other Churches too, that hold Communion with that Church.*

For he is not ignorant, more goeth to a separation then so, unlesse he hath forgotten the principles and rudiments of Church-Government.

He confesseth that to be true which I said, *That it is not Chirurgery but Butchery, to heale every sore with no other medicine, but with Abscission from the body:* But yet as if he could make mine own expressions, confutations of my selfe, he saith that I have confessed (that which indeed is not my confession, but my collection of his Argument;) *That Churches of Godly persons must be separated from, for inordinate worldlinesse.*

If this be a Contradiction, it is his, and not mine, as I shewed above; neither doe I own any such confession, as mine, which he subjoyneth; *That Churches may be separated from, when they tolerate their members in their causelesse reproaches.*

It seemeth, he thinketh, I neither remember mine own words, nor know any Church-Censure, but Excommunication.

He proceedeth to tell us his judgement in so waighty a case as excommunication or separation is: *It is not* (saith he) *every sore of infirmitie, or ignorance, but an Ulcer or Gangrene of obstinacy, for* [112] *which I maintained, that a person ought to be cut off, or a Church separated from.*

I know not how this judgement of his may satisfie his

neighbours; but a good Conscience willing to walke by rule, would still inquire, (where it was meete) First, whether every obstinacy, even before conviction, and that in a sinne lesse hainous, be such an ulcer, or Gangrene, for which either a person ought to be cut off, or a Church separated from? For there is an obstinacy against a good way, as there is a scorning of a good way, which is before conviction, even of ignorance: and to these Wisdome communicateth good Counsell, *Prov.* 1. 20. 22. But there is a scorning, and so an obstinacy, after conviction, and to such, Wisdome refuseth to communicate any wholesome words, *Prov.* 9. 8, 9.

If he meane the former, why did he refuse communion with us upon such an obstinacy of ignorance? By what rule did he proceede?

If he meane the latter, let him produce his cause, and bring forth all his strong reasons, whereby he did so much as offer to convince us of our obstinacy in any crime, and we will acknowledge his separation to be just, and our sinne to be great in not hearkening to him.

If he tell us againe, (as he doth in the next words, as indeed the mouth is most full of the abundance of the heart) if he tell us againe of our guiltinesse of cruelty, both against consciences and bodies, in persecuting of them, wee must needs tell him againe, that neither himselve, nor any others, (that I can heare off) did ever suffer any Censure, (which he calleth cruelty to consciences and bodies) till after his separation from all the Churches in the Countrey. And though he saith in the next words, *He separated Conscientiously and peaceably*: Yet did ever peaceable Conscience (before him) separate from Churches for an offence before it was committed?

If he tell us, he separated, for our communion with the Churches of *England*, in hearing the word in the Parishes

there, let all that feare God (whose hearts are not forestalled with prejudice or partiality) judge whether his reasons alledged to convince us of such a sinne, (the strongest whereof were answered in my Letter to him, and have been againe refuted in this Reply) have been of [113] such convincing power, as that wee for not hearkening to him must needs lie under the guilt of an ulcer, or Gangrene of obstinacy, and that after conviction. I may therefore well call it, not Chirurgery but Butchery, to cut off not onely so many members of Christ, but also so many Churches of Christ from fellowship with Christ, before any ulcer or Gangrene of obstinacy was discovered to us; Nay, I feare I might speake a further word, (and yet I would be loath to speake any doubtfull thing;) but surely (my memory much faileth me or else) he broke forth into this separation, before he gave us any grounds of his separation at all, or of our conviction of any such sinne, as might deserve such a Censure.<sup>61</sup> And whether that be Butchery or Chirurgery, let the upright judge.

*But, saith he, if it be Butchery to separate conscientiously and peaceably from the spirituall communion of a Church, or Saints, what shall it be called by the Lord Jesus, to cut off persons, them, and theirs, branch, and roote, from any Civill being in their Territories, &c. Because their Consciences dare not bow downe to any worship, but what the Lord Jesus hath appointed, and being also otherwise subject to the Civill estate, and Lawes thereof?*

Here be many extenuations, and mincings of his own carriage, and as many false aggravations of Guilt upon his sentence of Banishment, and the Authors of it.

As, 1. In that he was cut off, he and his, branch and roote, from any Civill being in these Territories, because their Con-

<sup>61</sup> Compare *ante*, p. 39, note 19.

sciences durst not bow downe to any worship, but what they beleeeve the Lord had appointed: Whereas the truth is, his Banishment proceeded not against him, or his, for his own refusall of any worship, but for seditious opposition against the Patent, and against the Oath of fidelitie offered to the people.<sup>62</sup>

2. That he was subject to the Civill estate, and Lawes thereof, when yet he vehemently opposed the Civill foundation of the Civill estate, which was the Patent: And earnestly also opposed the Law of the generall Court, by which the tender of that Oath was enjoyned: and also wrote Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof the Magistrates were members, for deferring to give present Answer to a Petition of *Salem*, who had refused to hearken to a lawfull motion of theirs.<sup>63</sup>

114] 3. That he did but separate from the spirituall society of a Church, or Saints: whereas he both drew away many others also, and as much as in him lay, separated all the Churches from Christ.<sup>64</sup>

4. In that he maketh the cutting off of persons, them and theirs, branch and rush, from civill Territories, a farre more hainous and odious offence in the eyes of the Lord Jesus, then himselfe to cut off, not onely himselfe and his, branch and rush, but many of his neighbours (by sedition) from spirituall Communion with the Churches, and all the Churches from Communion with Christ. As if the cutting off persons, them and theirs, branch and rush, from the Covenant, and spirituall Ordinances in the Church, were a matter of no account in respect of cutting off from Civill Liberties in the Territories of the Common-wealth.

<sup>62</sup> Compare *ante*, p. 27, note 10; p. 29, note 12.

<sup>63</sup> Compare *ante*, p. 29.

<sup>64</sup> Compare *ante*, p. 110, note 60.

5. In that, what himselfe did, he predicateth as done conscientiously and peaceably, as if what the Court had done against him, they had not done conscientiously also, and with regard to publick peace, which they saw he disturbed, and stood stiffly in his own course, though he was openly convinced in open Court (as I shewed before) that he could not maintaine his way, but by sinning against the light of his own Conscience.<sup>65</sup> As for his Marginall note, *wherein he chargeth M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton to be deeply guilty of Cruelty, both against Consciences and bodies, in persecuting of them.*

I will onely Answer thus much, (partly from *David*, partly from *Job*,) If the Lord have stirred him up thus to reproach me, (as *Shimei* did him) I hope the Lord will looke upon mine affliction, and requite me good for all his slander, this day, or this yeare, 2 *Sam.* 16. 12. But if he himselfe (who without cause is mine adversary) hath whet his tongue like a sword, and his bow to shoot out his arrowes, even bitter words, (*Psal.* 64. 3. as he frequently doth in his Booke) surely I shall take his booke upon my shoulder, and bind it as a Crowne to me, *Job* 31. 36.

## TO CHAP. XXIII.

**H**Is 23. Chapter examineth a speech of mine which might tend to the dishonour of the Separation, as the reproach against [115] *Salem* had done before. My Speech was, *That God had not prospered the way of Separation: which least it should be mistaken, I interpreted, not in respect of outward prosperitie: for they found more favour in our native Country, then*

<sup>65</sup> Cotton here alludes to Hooker's argument with Williams, *ante*, pp. 30, 31.

*those who walked in the way of Reformation, which is commonly reproached by the name of Puritanisme.<sup>66</sup> The meetings of the Separatists might be knowne to the Officers in the Courts, and winked at, when the Conventicles of the Puritans (as they call them) are hunted out with all diligence, and pursued with more violence, then any Law can justifie. But I said, that God had not prospered the way of Separation, in that he had not blessed it, either with peace amongst themselves, or with growth of grace, such as erring through simplicitie, and tendernesse of Conscience, have growne in grace, have growne also to discerne their lawfull libertie, to returne to the hearing of the Word from English Preachers.*

To give Answer to this, the Examiner bestoweth many Chapters. His first Answer is, (that which is not unworthy

<sup>66</sup> Bradford evidently does not relish this assertion: "Far be it from any of us to detract from or to extenuate the sufferings of any of the servants of God, much less from those worthies forenamed, or any others afterwards mentioned. Yet, under favor, we crave pardon if we cannot consent to the judgement of such eminent ones for piety and learning above hinted. We doubt not, but do easily grant, that the sufferings of those reproached by the name of Puritans were great, especially some of them, and were better known to those pious and learned [men] first above intimated, than the sufferings of those that are reproached by the name of Brownists and Separatists." He then recites some facts which go to show that the number of Separatists who suffered persecution of various kinds "would not only equalise but far exceed the number of those godly called Puritans that have suffered. Suppose they were but few of their ministers that suffered, as above expressed;

yet their sorrows might be as great, and their wants more, and their souls as much afflicted, because more contemned and neglected of men." He adds: "To speak the truth, the professors in England, though many of them suffered much at the hands of the prelates, yet they had a great advantage of the Separatists; for the Separatists had not only the prelates and their faction to encounter with, (and what hard measures they met with at their hands, above the others, doth sufficiently appear by what is before declared,) but also they must endure the frowns, and many times the sharp invectives, of the forward ministers against them, both in public and private; and what influence they had upon the spirits of the people, is well enough known also; by reason hereof the ministers in foreign countries did look awry at them when they would give help and countenance to the other." See Bradford's "Dialogue," &c., in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 435, 440.



to be attended to, by all whom it concerneth,) *That doubtlesse the Lord bath a great Controversie with the Land for their such violent pursuit and persecution of both. For both of them have borne witnesse to severall truths of the Lord Jesus.* Albeit, I deny not, the one party might have borne witnesse to more points of Truth: the other might have borne witnesse to fewer, and so have lesse exceeded bounds of Truth. To make the *English Churches*, and their Ministeries, and their Worship, and their Professors, either nullities, or Antichristian, is a witnesse not onely beyond the truth, but against the Truth of the Lord Jesus, and his word of Truth.

But for their sufferings; *The Puritans* (saith he) *have not suffered comparatively to the other, (as but seldome Congregating in separate Assemblies from the common :) And none of them suffering unto death for the way of Non-Conformitie. Indeed* (saith he) *the worthy witnesse M<sup>r</sup>. Udall<sup>67</sup> was neere unto death*

<sup>67</sup> The Rev. John Udal was educated at Cambridge, and for seven years was settled at Kingston-upon-Thames. After having been twice suspended, he was again settled at Newcastle. In 1590 he was convicted, upon wholly insufficient evidence, of writing the "Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline which Christ hath provided in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places until the end of the World." For some just observations upon this trial by one never inclined to favor the Puritans, see Hume, Hist. of Eng., 4, 196. Udal was sentenced to death, but was offered pardon on condition of signing a recantation, which he refused to do. But because the Queen had been misinformed respecting his opinions, Udal, at the suggestion of his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, who held him in high esteem, sent her majesty a short

confession of his faith, the first paragraph of which clearly sets forth his position. "I believe, and have often preached, that the church of England is a part of the true visible church, the word and sacraments being duly dispensed; for which reason, I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and do still desire to be a preacher in the same church. Therefore I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists." The intercession of King James, of Scotland, and others, delayed the execution of the sentence, until Udal died in prison of sorrow and grief, at the close of the year 1592. Because the sentence was not executed, Williams uses the expression "neere unto death." See State Trials, vol. 1, p. 144; Neal, 1, 340, 347; Fuller, Church History, B. ix.

*for his witnesse against Bishops, and Ceremonies; But M<sup>r</sup>. Penry,<sup>68</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Barrow,<sup>69</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Greenwood<sup>70</sup> followed the Lord Jesus, with their Gibbets, and were hanged with him, and for him, in the way of separation. Many more have been condemned to dye, banished, and choaked in Prisons, whom I could produce upon occasion.*

<sup>68</sup> The Rev. John Penry studied first at Cambridge, afterwards at Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1586. "When he first went to Cambridge," says Anthony Ward, "he was as arrant a Papist as ever came out of Wales. But being full of Welsh blood, and of a hot, restless head, he changed his course and became a notorious Anabaptist, and in some sort a Brownist, and a most bitter enemy to the church of England." *Athenæ Oxon.*, 1, 227. Upon the publication of Martin Mar-Prelate, in 1590, a warrant was issued to apprehend Penry, as an enemy to the State. Penry fled to Scotland, but returning to England was arraigned, condemned, and executed in May, 1593, being "turned off in a hurry about five of the clock in the evening, May 29." Penry was a member of the church of Brownists that was accustomed to meet in the fields and woods about London. His trial, like that of Udal, was a disgrace to English justice. The judge who passed sentence upon him was the Chief Justice Popham, afterwards connected with the abortive attempt at colonisation in Maine, which has recently been the subject of so much discussion. Ward, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1, 227; Neal, 1, 374; Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, vol. 1, p. 205.

<sup>69</sup> Henry Barrow was a lawyer, of Gray's Inn. His name appears among the signatures to the "Humble petition

of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the bishops in sundry prisons in and about London," which was presented to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. After a long imprisonment, Barrow was brought to trial with others, in March, 1592, on charge of "writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the Queen and government," and was hung at Tyburn, April 6. Neal, 1, 373; Brooks, 2, 24. Cotton says of Barrow that he was given up "to a spirit of bitterness and rashness," and infers that "his way was not right, or his heart not upright in it." *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 51.

<sup>70</sup> The Rev. John Greenwood was first chaplain to Lord Rich, but became afterwards a rigid Brownist, and was chosen teacher of the congregation about London. He was an intimate friend of Barrow, and their careers became identical. After undergoing several years imprisonment, he suffered death with Barrow. Neal, 1, 372; Brooks, 2, 23.

Barrow and Greenwood were both condemned for sedition, while their real offence was opposition to the church. Their strong protestations of loyalty awakened the public attention, and it was said that the Queen herself, on learning the facts, repented that she had consented to their death.

The "Examinations of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penrie," are in the Harleian Miscellany.

*Reply.* Paul accounteth it a folly to make boasts in comparisons, even of sufferings: And therefore I choose to be sparing and brieve in this Argument: wherein otherwise I could be copious, there being [116] another Volume of the Booke of Martyrs (as I heare) extant in the Countrey, (though not in print) of the sufferings of the godly Ministers and people, beginning where Mr. Fox<sup>71</sup> left. When he saith, *Their witnesses against Bishops and Ceremonies, (whom he call-eth Puritans) have seldome met in separate Assemblies from the common:* It seemeth he never read the story of the Classes<sup>72</sup> in Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Essex, London, Cambridge, dis-

<sup>71</sup> John Fox, the celebrated author of the "Acts and Monuments," was born at Boston, where Cotton was so long settled, in 1517. He died in 1587. His great work, commonly called the "Book of Martyrs," was first published in 1563. The ninth edition was published in 1684, in three volumes folio. I can find no account of the additional volume to which Cotton alludes.

<sup>72</sup> The Classes were voluntary associations of the clergy, designed for mutual conference, and for the promotion of parochial discipline, which, as appears from the "Conclusions" drawn up by Cartwright and Travers, were in the habit of meeting as early as 1576. They aimed only at reformation within the Church. In the form of subscription to the Book of Discipline, the signers promised to frequent "every six weeks, classical conferences." These associations were formed in several counties, but chiefly in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, under the direction of Cartwright, at that time Master of the Warwick hospital. (*Ante*, p. 64, note 35.)

For taking part in these meetings Cartwright and many others were summoned before the Court of High Commission in 1590. After lying for two years in prison they united in an Address to the Queen, in which they disclaimed utterly the charge of schism, acknowledging that the Church of England was "a true visible church of Christ, from the holy communion whereof, by way of *schism*, it is not lawful to depart." As a justification of their meeting in Classes they say: "Some late years also have given us more special cause of conferring together, when *Jesuits, Seminaries, and other heretics*, sought to seduce many; and wherein also some schismaticks condemned the whole state of our church, as no part of the true visible church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any part or communion with it; upon which occasion it is needful for us to advise of the best way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to instruct, from such damnable errors." Hallam, Cons. Hist., 1, 207; Neal, 1, 231, 324, 355.

covered by a false brother to Doctor *Bancroft*<sup>73</sup> (Chaplain then to Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, afterwards Bishop of *London*, and after that Archbishop of *Canterbury*;) nor that he ever tooke notice of Doctor *Bancrofts* Booke against them, entituled, *Dangerous Positions and practises against Religion and State*; neither doth it seeme, that he doth acknowledge their frequent and continuall meetings to duties of humiliation, as any separate meetings from the common. But I doubt not, the Lord tooke notice of both, and hath now rewarded their sighes and groanes, prayers and teares in private with an open recompence and deliverance in the view of all men.

Besides, though he pleased to confine the witnesse of these he calleth *Puritans*, unto Testimony against Bishops and Ceremonies: yet I did not thinke, he had been such a stranger in *Israel*, (if by his leave I may call it *Israel*) as to be ignorant, how farre both the Admonitions to the Parliament<sup>74</sup> have reached to beare witnesse beyond Bishops and Ceremonies. To say nothing of M<sup>r</sup>. *Deerings*<sup>75</sup> Sermon before

<sup>73</sup> Richard Bancroft, "the great adversary of the Puritans," became Bishop of London in 1696, and was translated to the see of Canterbury in December, 1604. It has been said that Bancroft, in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross, in 1588, was the first to lay down the doctrine of the divine right of Episcopacy. See Neal, 1, 331. Hallam doubts this, and thinks that the first traces of the doctrine are found about the end of Elizabeth's reign. Hallam, Cons. Hist. Eng., 1, 395. Lord Bacon stigmatizes this newly broached theory as "dishonourable and derogatory speech and censure of the churches abroad." do. note. The book of Bancroft which Cotton mentions, was published in 1593.

<sup>74</sup> The First Admonition to Parliament was drawn up by Field and Wilcox, in 1572, and exposed with severity the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the bishops. The imprisonment of these two ministers occasioned the Second, and more celebrated Admonition by Cartwright. (*ante*, p. 64, note 35.)

<sup>75</sup> The Rev. Edward Deering, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was chosen proctor in 1566, and Lady Margaret's preacher the year following. In his Sermon before the Queen, February 25, 1569, he had the boldness to say, "If you have sometimes said (meaning in the days of his sister Mary,) *tantum ovis*, as a sheep appointed to be

the Queene, or Mr. *Chadertons*<sup>76</sup> at *Pauls Crosse*, or Mr. *Parkers Ecclesiastica Politica*,<sup>77</sup> or Mr. *Baines*<sup>78</sup> his *Diocesans Tryall*.

Though he say, *None of them suffered unto death*, onely Mr. *Udall* was neere it: Yet the truth is, he dyed by the annoyance of the Prison, which he might as well have acknowledged as he doth of some of the Separatists in this very Paragraph, that they were choaked in Prison. This I have understood by faithfull witnesses, that when the Coroners Jury (according to the Law of *England*) came (as the manner is in such cases) to survey the dead body of Mr. *Udall* in Prison, he bled freshly (though cold before) as a testimony against the murderous illegall proceedings of the State against him: for so the godly did apprehend it; judicious *Perkins*<sup>79</sup>

flain; take heed you hear not now of the prophet, *tanquam indomica juvenca*, as an untamed and unruly heifer." In his Letter to Burleigh, November 1, 1573, Deering took strong ground against Episcopal government as then established in England. Brooks's Lives, 1, 193; Hopkins's Puritans, 1, 500.

<sup>76</sup> The Rev. Lawrence Chaderton was born in 1537, of a wealthy Roman Catholic family, but became a Protestant and entered Christ's College, Cambridge. For his change of religion he was disinherited. In 1584 he became Master of the newly founded Emanuel College, and continued in that office for thirty-eight years. He was a decided, but moderate, Puritan. He was one of the translators of the authorized version of the Bible. He died Nov. 13, 1640. The Sermon at Paul's Cross, to which Cotton alludes, was preached October 26, 1578. Neal, 1, 640; Brooks, 2, 445; Fuller's Worthies, 1, 550.

<sup>77</sup> See *ante*, p. 64, note 36.

<sup>78</sup> Rev. Paul Bains, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he died in 1617. He incurred the displeasure of Bancroft, and because many under distress of conscience resorted to him for advice, was accused of holding conventicles. The "*Diocesans Tryall*" was published in 1621. Cotton Mather states that when Cotton was settled at Boston "his dear friend, holy Mr. Bayns, recommended unto him a pious gentlewoman, one Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, the sister of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous minister in Lancashire, to become his consort in a *married estate*. See Life of Cotton, in Mather's *Magnalia*; Brooks's Lives, 2, 261; Neal, 1, 478. Bains was one of the three divines from whom Cotton received the Congregational system. See *ante*, p. 83, note 50.

<sup>79</sup> The Rev. William Perkins, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was born in 1558. He commenced his ca-

acknowledgeth such a kinde of bleeding to be a part of the accomplishment of that Scripture in *Heb. 11. That the blood of Abel still speaketh.*

117] In like sort, for the same cause (choaked in the prison) suffered Mr. *Randall Bates*<sup>80</sup> (an heavenly Saint) nor could he be released, though Doctor *Hering* (a learned and beloved Physician) earnestly solicited Bishop *Neale*<sup>81</sup> for his enlargement as he tendred his life, but the suite of the Physician

reer as a preacher by voluntary ministrations to the prisoners confined in Cambridge, but the multitudes that flocked to hear him spread his fame throughout the University, and he was chosen preacher at St. Andrews. He was a thorough Puritan, a subscriber to the Book of Discipline, and more than once convened for non-conformity. He died in 1642. His controversy with Arminius is said to have occasioned the calling of the Synod of Dort. Cotton, while a student at Cambridge, was so powerfully wrought upon by his preaching, that "when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins, his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance from that powerful ministry, by which his conscience had been so oft beleagured," but, when on his death-bed, Cotton declared that the expectation of meeting Perkins contributed "unto his readines to be gone." See Life of Cotton, in the *Magnalia*. In his Letter to Lord Say and Seal, 1636, Cotton says: "I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath, in one of his prefatory pages to his golden chaine, that the word, and scriptures of God doe conteyne a short *upoloposis*, or platforme, not onely of theology, but also of other sacred sciences, (as he calleth them) attendants, and handmaids thereunto, which he maketh

ethicks, æconomicks, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy." See Hutchinson's Hist., 1, 496. Governor Winthrop, in his remarkable relation of his "Christian Experience," refers to Perkins. See Life and Letters of Winthrop, 1630-1649, p. 168.

<sup>80</sup> Randall Bates, a zealous non-conformist, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and committed to the Gatehouse, where he died, after an imprisonment of twenty months, in 1613. From a book which he wrote in prison his views appear to have been a compound of presbyterianism and independency. Cotton is the only authority for the statement respecting the manner of his death. Brooks's Lives, 2, 234.

<sup>81</sup> Dr. Richard Neill, successively bishop of Rochester, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and at last Archbishop of York, died Oct. 31, 1640. He was the son of a tallow-chandler, and his career justifies the severe remark of Hallam: "The system pursued by Bancroft and his imitators, bishops Neill and Laud, with the approbation of the King, far opposed to the healing counsels of Burleigh and Bacon, was just such as low-born and little-minded men, raised to power by fortune's caprice, are ever found to pursue." Hallam, Cons. Hist. Eng., vol. 1, p. 395.

was repulsed with reproaches: And the life of his patient spilt by that rigor. He is therefore much mistaken, when he saith, *None of them suffered unto death.* And it is alike mistake, when he maketh M<sup>r</sup>. Penry one of his witnesses unto the death for Separation. I have received it from M<sup>r</sup>. *Hilderfom*<sup>82</sup> (a man of a thousand) that M<sup>r</sup>. Penry did ingen-

<sup>82</sup> The Rev. Arthur Hilderfham, of Christ's College, Cambridge, was born in 1563, like Chaderton, of Roman Catholic parents. He was connected with the royal family, and the celebrated Cardinal Pole was his great uncle. After leaving the University he was settled at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where, with repeated interruptions he remained until his death, March 4, 1631. Hilderfham was an earnest non-conformist, but was so far opposed to Separation that he was called "the hammer of heretics." According to Lilly, the astrologer, he "differed not from the Church of England in any article of faith; but only about wearing the surplice, baptizing with the cross, and kneeling in the sacrament." See Brooks's Lives, 2, 376; Fuller's Worthies, 1, 164, and Church Hist., 111, 370. He was greatly esteemed by Cotton, who mentioned him with Ames and Preston, in his dying words. Whiting, in his life of Cotton, after speaking of his abounding hospitality, adds: "And especially his heart and doors were open to receive, as all that feared God, so especially godly ministers, which he most courteously entertained, and many other strangers besides. Only one minister, Mr. Hacket by name, which had got into the fellowship of famous Mr. Arthur Hilderfham, with many other godly ministers, and being acquainted with the secrets, betrayed them into the

prelates hands, this man, coming into Boston, and meeting with Mr. Cotton, that good man had not the heart to speak to him, nor invite him to his house; which he said he never did to any stranger that he knew before, much less to any minister." See Young, Chronicles of Mass., p. 427.

Hubbard says: "It is certainly known that the old non-conformists, and good old puritans of queen Elizabeth and king James his time, did in many things not symbolize with the Separatists, whose way and form of discipline was always disowned and disclaimed, yea publicly condemned by the writings of the learned non-conformists of that age, such as Mr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Hilderfham, that *malleus Brownistarum*, as he used to be called, especially as to their notions about Separation from the Church of England as antichristian." He adds, that when Higginson and others came to New England, "Mr. Hilderfham, upon their first removing, advised him and other ministers looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government, before they came away from England. The which counsel, if it had been attended, might have prevented some inconveniency that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles."

uously acknowledge before his death, That though he had not deserved death for any dishonour put upon the Queene, by that Booke<sup>83</sup> (which was found in his study, and intended by himselfe to be presented to her own hand:) nor by the compiling of *Martin Marprelate*,<sup>84</sup> (of both which he was fallly charged;) yet he confessed, he *deserved death at the Queenes hand, for that he had seduced many of her loyall Subjects to a separation from hearing the Word of life in the Parish Churches. Which though himselfe had learned to discerne the evill thereof, yet he could never prevaile to recover divers of her Subjects, whom he had seduced: and therefore the bloud of their soules, was now justly required at his hands.*

Let the Examiner consider, whether he will own this M<sup>r</sup>. Penry for one of his faithfull witnesses hereafter; If he doe, let him endeavour to doe as he did, seeke to reduce those foules whom he hath seduced from hearing the word of life: or else, let him confesse (as M<sup>r</sup>. Penry did) the bloud of those foules may justly be required at his hands, if M<sup>r</sup>. Penries witness be of waight with him.

Touching his other witness, to the death of M<sup>r</sup>. Barrow,<sup>85</sup>

See Hubbard's Hist. of New England, in Mafs. Hist. Coll., 2d Series, 5, 118. In the last sentence there is an evident allusion to the charge that Baylie brought against Cotton.

<sup>83</sup> The specific charges against Penry were collected from an unpublished address to the Queen, drawn up during his residence in Scotland, and designed to represent to her the true state of religion, and the many abuses in the church.

<sup>84</sup> Among the anonymous pamphlets, inveighing against the prelacy, that were circulated throughout the country, the most famous went under the name of Martin Mar-prelate. They were printed

on a moveable press, which was shifted to different parts of the country as the pursuit grew hot. The first appeared in 1588. In November of that year, the archbishop is directed by a letter from the council to search for and commit to prison the authors and printers. Udal and Penry were arrested in consequence, but the authors were never discovered. See Strype's Whitgift, 1, 549, 551; Annals, III: 2. 102, 602, and trial of Sir Richard Knightley, in State Trials, 1, 1263.

<sup>85</sup> Bradford enters into a full and earnest vindication of Barrow from these charges of Cotton. "Truly with due



this I can say, from the testimony of holy and blessed Mr. Dod,<sup>86</sup> who speaking of this Mr. Barrow, *God is not want (saith he) to make choice of men, infamous for grosse vices before their calling, to make them any notable instruments of Reformation after their Calling. Mr. Barrow whilest he lived in Court, was wont to be a great Gamster, and Dicer, and often getting much by play, would boast, Vivo de die, in spem noctis, nothing ashamed to boast of his hopes of his nights lodgings in the bosomes of his Courtizens. As his spirit was high and rough before his reformation, so was it after, even to his death. When he stood under the Gibbet, he lift up his eyes, and Lord (saith he) if I be deceived, thou hast deceived [118] me: And so being stopt by the hand of God, he was not able to proceed to speake any thing to purpose more, either to the glory of God, or to the edification of the people.*

Mr. Greenwood (the Examiners last witnesse unto death) he indeed of all the rest was the more to be lamented, as being of a more tender, and conscientious spirit: but this have I

respect to such reverend men be it spoken, those things might well have been spared from putting in print, especially so long after his death, when not only he, but all his friends are taken out of the world, that might vindicate his name. That he was tainted with vices at the court before his conversion and calling, it is not very strange; and if he had lived and died in that condition, it is like he might have gone out of the world without any public brand on his name, and have passed for a tolerable Christian and member of the church. He had hurt enough done him, whilest he lived, by evil and cruel enemies; why should godly men be prejudicated to him after his death." After reciting some "public testimonies" concerning

him, Bradford adds, as a reason why Barrow had been "by so many aspersed;" "It is not much to be marvelled at; for he was most plain in discovering the cruelty, fraud and hypocrisy of the enemies of the truth, and searching into the corruptions of the time, which made him abhorred of them; and peradventure something too harsh against the haltings of divers of the preachers and professors that he had to deal with in those times, who out of fear or weakness did not come so close up to the truth in their practice as their doctrines and grounds seemed to hold forth." See Bradford, "Dialogue," in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 429-435.

<sup>86</sup> See *ante*, p. 102, note 58.

heard reported of him by the same credible hands, That if he could have been fundred from Mr. Barrow, he was tractable to have been gained to the truth. But when the Examiner goeth on to make comparisons between the Sufferings of the Separatists, and of (those he styleth) Puritans, in his Margent, and in his Booke. No comparison will hold from the Separatists to them, but a *Minori*. What compulsoy banishments have been put upon those blessed and glorious lights, Mr. Cartwright, Parker, Ames? To say nothing of those in Scotland, or New-England: When have the Prisons been vacant of some or other godly Ministers, and Professors? When will the Examiner shew forth alike company of his witnesses, to those 300. Ministers (whom Mr. Parker compareth to the 300. Souldiers of Gideon) who in one storme of persecution, were some suspended, some excommunicated, some imprisoned, all of them deprived of their Ministry, and of their maintenance? And provision made, that none might practise Physicke, or teach Schoole, unlesse they would accept a License with subscription? So that of necessitie (had not the Lord been wiser, and stronger then men) they must in remediless misery, they and theirs, have either begged, or starved; But that with the Lord there be bowells of mercy, and fatherly compassions, and with him are plenteous redemptions, and provisions, and protections, when men faile.

The Examiner proceedeth (in his Answer) to tell us further, *That he beleeveth there hath hardly ever been a Conscientious Separatist, who was not first a Puritan. For (as Mr. Can<sup>87</sup> hath unanswerably proved) the grounds and principles of*

<sup>87</sup> The accounts respecting this learned divine are somewhat conflicting. That he was educated in the established church and probably received episcopal ordination is agreed by all. But according to

Neal, he soon after joined the Separatists, and became pastor of Mr. Lathrop's congregation in London, and being driven by persecution to Holland, was chosen pastor of the Brownist congregation at

*the Puritans against Bishops, and Ceremonies, and prophaneſſe of people profeſſing Chriſt: and the neceſſitie of Chriſts flock and diſcipline, muſt neceſſarily (if truly followed) lead on to, and enforce a ſeparation.*

*Reply.* 1. If there were hardly ever any conſcientious Separatiſt, who was not firſt a Puritan, then it ſeemeth, that if there be any Conſcience in the Separatiſts, it was firſt wrought in them by the Miniſters of thoſe whom he calleth Puritans. 119] 2. Say it were true, that he pretendeth, That the principles and grounds of Puritanifme, did enforce Separation :) yet I doe not underſtand, what it maketh to the point in hand.

3. Neither doe I underſtand, how it ſuiteth with the Examiners profeſſion who is wont to renounce all communion with Antichriſtian inventions, ſo frequently to take up into his mouth and pen the Nickname of Puritans: which was at firſt deviſed by *Sanders*<sup>88</sup> the Jeſuite, to caſt a reproach

Amſterdam. The moſt recent biographer of Canne, on the other hand, maintains that the name by which his charge was designated, "The ancient Engliſh Church in Amſterdam," could ſcarcely have been the title of any Browniſt congregation. The church of Canne was in fact part of the Church of England. He could not therefore at firſt have ſeparated. According to the ſame writer, the critical poſition of Ames and Parker and others, within the Eſtabliſhed Church, gave a greater acrimony to the treatment of Canne when he felt it his duty to ſeparate. Canne returned to England in 1640, and formed the Broadmead church, in Briſtol. He is ſaid to have died at Amſterdam, in 1667. See Neal, 1, 437, 663; Brooks, 3, 332, and the Introductory Notice by Rev. Charles Stovel to the edition of the "Neceſſity of Separation," published by

the Hanſerd Knollys Society.

<sup>88</sup> The Rev. Nicholas Sanders, D. D., a very prominent Roman Catholic controversial writer, was educated at New College, Oxford, where he became fellow. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth he went to Rome, and afterwards Cardinal Hoſius, hearing of his ability, took him to the Council of Trent. Afterwards Sanders was ſettled in Louvain, and ſpent much of his time in writing againſt the Proteſtant divines. In 1579 he was ſent as nuncio to Ireland, and taking part in the rebellion of the Earl of Deſmond, in 1583, he fled to the woods and died of hunger. According to Camden, Sanders "wandered up and down troubled in mind" on account of the failure of the plot. Cotton is in error in calling him a Jeſuit. See Strype's Parker, 2, 168; Camden's Elizabeth, 290; Baylie's Diſt. art. Sanders; Moreri, tome ix., art.

upon the persons and way of reformers, to render them suspicious and odious to the State. The righteous hand of the Lord struck him with madnesse who invented the name: nor doth he delight in them that delight to take up a reproach against the innocent.

4. How unanswerably M<sup>r</sup>. Can hath proved the necessity of Separation from their grounds and principles, I will not judge, because I have not seene his Booke.<sup>89</sup> But to separate from the Churches of *England*, as no Churches, or false Churches, from their Ministry, as a false Ministry, from their Sermons as false worship, from their professors as no visible Saints. And to prove all this out of the Principles and grounds of those holy Saints of God, whom he misnameth Puritans, will require a strong efficacy of delusions, to make it appeare probable to a sad and judicious spirit, that is not forestalled with prejudice, or partialitie.

Sanders. The statement that Sanders lost his reason is open to doubt. See Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1, 469.

I have searched in vain for any confirmation of Cotton's statement that Sanders was the first to give the name which was destined to become so famous. Strype, who makes frequent mention of Sanders, nowhere alludes to this circumstance. He simply states that in the year 1571, those who would not comply with the established orders of the church, were commonly called Puritans. Strype's Parker, 2, 65. Camden, describing the movements of Coleman, Benson, and others, in 1568, adds, "which Sect began presently to be known by the odious name of *Puritans*." Camden's Elizabeth, p. 107. Fuller assigns an earlier date. According to his statement "the odious name of the Puritans" first began to be used in the year 1564, "and the grief

had not been great had it ended in the same." Church History of Britain, Book ix., p. 67. Neal goes even further back, and finds the term used in 1559. See Hist. Puritans, 1, 91. Marfden says: "No clear account of the origin of this now famous title has been handed down." History of the Early Puritans, p. 3.

Cotton's account of the Roman Catholic origin of the name Puritan may seem to derive some confirmation from the words which Hopkins puts into the mouth of a Roman Catholic priest, executed at York, May 10, 1566, (see Hopkins's Puritans, vol. 1, p. 339,) but there is no authority for any such use of the name. See Strype's Parker, 1, 141. The references to Strype, in this note, are to the octavo edition.

<sup>89</sup> "Necessitie of Separation," published in 1634, and republished by the Hanford Knollys Society.

But the Examiner proceedeth in his Answer to enquire, *What should be the Reason, why the Separatist (who witnesseth against the Roote of the Constitution it selfe) should finde more favour then the Puritan, or Non-conformist?*

And he telleth us,

*Doubtlesse the reasons are evident: 1. Because most of the Separatists have been poore and low, and not such gainfull Customers to the Bishops, their Courts, and Officers. Mr. Ainsworth<sup>90</sup> himselfe (though a worthy instrument of Gods praise) lived upon nine pence in the weeke with roots boyled,<sup>91</sup> &c.*

<sup>90</sup> The Rev. Henry Ainsworth was a distinguished leader of the Brownists, but little is known of him until he became a resident of Holland, which was probably at the time of the general banishment of his sect in 1593. He lived at Amsterdam, when he became teacher of the church of which Johnson was pastor. In the midst of the unhappy controversies which afterwards tore this church in pieces, and in which the Rev. John Smyth was so conspicuous, (see *ante*, p. 58, note 32, and compare Cotton, *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 6,) he maintained a reputation for great meekness and piety, and gained the respect of all parties by his uncommon learning and abilities. His great work, the "Annotations of the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon," was published in 1612, and the following year. The circumstances of his death, which took place about the close of the year 1622, afford a striking illustration of his character. Having found a diamond of great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it, and when the owner, a Jew claimed it, and offered any acknowledgement, Mr. Ainsworth, though very poor, would accept nothing

but a conference with some of the Rabbis, upon the Messianic prophecies, which the Jew not being able to procure, it was thought, caused Ainsworth to be poisoned. According to another account, he was poisoned by the Jews for vanquishing them in the discussion. Brooks's *Lives*, 2, 229.

Cotton seems to have regarded Ainsworth with more favor than he did most of the Separatists. He says of him: "Mr. Ainsworth, a man of a more modest and humble spirit, and diligently studious of the Hebrew Text, hath not been unuseful to the Church in his Exposition of the *Pentateuch*, especially of *Moses* his Rituals, notwithstanding some uncircumcised, and ungrounded Rabbinical observations recited, but not refuted. For though in simplicity of heart, in some things he went astray: yet the way he walked in, did not suffer disgrace by him, nor by the might and evidence of God's hand upon him." *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, p. 6. Ainsworth was author of the version of the Psalms long used by the church at Plymouth.

<sup>91</sup> This unqualified statement of Williams leaves a false impression. See Bradford's explanation, *post*, p. 123, note 99.

*Reply.* In part I will not deny some truth and weight in this reason; But take it for granted, and it doth but confirme what I said, that the Separatist found more favour then the Non-conformist, whatsoever the reason was.

The second reason that he giveth is, *That it is a principle in nature to preferre a professed enemy, before a pretended friend. The Separatists [120] have been looked at by the Bishops, and their adherents, as knowne and professed enemies: whereas the Puritans have professed subjection, and submitted to the Bishops, their Courts, their Officers, their Common Prayer, and worships: And yet (the Bishops have well knowne) with no greater affection, then the Israelites bore the Egyptians cruell task-masters.*

*Reply.* 1. What the Non-conformists did beare, it was no more then they thought they might beare with a good Conscience, according to the light they had received. If they did beare more, then what in Conscience they judged lawfull to be borne, they had no reason to beare with themselves in so doing.

But if the Bishops bore the lesse with them in such their subjection, it was because they looked at them not as pretended friends, but as more dangerons enemies: as knowing both that the Lord was with them, (which made *Saul* the more afraid of *David*, 1 *Sam.* 18. 28, 29.) as also that the grounds which they gave of their judgement and practise, were more agreeable to Scripture, and to the judgement of all reformed Churches, and therefore more likely in time to prevaile, to the utter overthrow of their usurped Hierarchy. But as for the Sparatists, the Bishops did not discern, either the Lord going forth in like fort with them, or their grounds so likely to subvert their freehold. Though the Separatists struck at the roote of the Constitutions of their Churches,

(which was indeed a greater blow then to strike at the roote of Episcopacy:) yet because the Episcopacy saw that the Separatists struck at the things of Christ, together with themselves, they knew such stroakes would not much hurt their standing.

The next word which the Examiner answereth, is unto that I said; *God hath not prospered the way of Separation, neither with peace amongst themselves, nor with growth of grace.*

His Answer is; 1. *That want of peace may befall the truest Churches of the Lord Jesus, as them at Antioch, Corinth, Galatia.*

*Reply.* The distraction at *Antioch* was soone healed by the Counsell of the Synod at *Hierusalem*, which is a way of peace which the Churches of the rigid Separation have not knowne, nor will condescend unto: which makes their dissentions destitute of hopes of reconciliation without separation one from another. The like may be said of the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*. I [121] doe not read their differences were healed by Separation, but by listning to Apostolicall Counsell.

2. His second Answer is, *that it is a common Character of a false Church (maintained by the Smiths and Cutlers shop) to enjoy peace, none daring for feare of civill punishment to question, or differ, &c.*

*Reply.* Though it be a common Character of a false Church, to enjoy a forced and violent peace: yet it is a peculiar Character of a true Church, to enjoy holy peace with God, and one with another, which where it is wanting, there is something else wanting, either in their Faith or Order.

3. His third Answer is, *That Gods people in that way have sometimes long enjoyed sweet peace, and soule contentment, in England, Holland, New-England, and other places, &c.*

*Reply.* The Answer had been more cleare and evident, if he had named those Churches, who have long enjoyed such peace in that way: in that way I say, of rigid Separation, separating from the Churches of *England*, as altogether false, in their Constitution, Ministry, worship, and therefore refusing to heare the word in the best of the Parish Assemblies. It is a wise Proverb of a wiser then *Soloman*, *The back-slider in heart* (from any Truth or way of God) *shall be filled with his owne wayes.* They that separate from their brethren further then they have just cause, shall at length find cause (or at least thinke they have found cause) just enough to separate one from another. I never yet heard of any instance to the contrary, either in *England*,<sup>92</sup> or *Holland*.<sup>93</sup> And for

<sup>92</sup> Cotton probably alludes to the difficulty which arose in the Separatist congregation, in London, of which the Rev. John Lathrop was pastor. A majority of the church having declined to express any opinion upon the question whether parish churches were true churches, the more rigid minority requested dismission, and uniting with some who questioned the lawfulness of infant baptism, formed, according to Neal, in 1633, the earliest Baptist church in England. Neal, 1, 663. But a church on essentially the same basis was formed by Hubbard, in 1621, and both these churches not only admitted Pædobaptists as members, but also to the ministry. The earliest church founded in England on exclusive Baptist principles was probably that in Devonshire Square, formed by William Kiffin, in the year 1653. See Introduction to Canne's Necessity of Separation, by Rev. Charles Stovel, p. xix.

<sup>93</sup> The unhappy difficulties in the English church at Amsterdam, in which Ainsworth became involved, first with

Francis Johnson and afterwards with the Rev. John Smyth, have been alluded to in previous notes. It is, however, probable that these difficulties have been much exaggerated by the enemies of the Separatists.

Baylie goes so far as to assert, in his "Dissuasive," that the Church at Leyden was "well neare brought to nought" by divisions, "till some of them went over to *New-England*, and perswaded their neighbours who sate down with them in *New-Plymouth* to erect with them a Congregation after their Separate way;" but Cotton denies this, and says that "the Church at *Leyden* was in peace, and free from any division, when they took thoughts of transporting themselves into *America* with common consent." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 14. Bradford, the highest authority on this point, says: "And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbances that grew thereby, but such as



*New-England*, there is no such Church of the Separation at all that I know of.<sup>94</sup> That separate Church (if it may be called

was easily healed in love; and so they continued until with mutual consent they removed into New England." Bradford's "Dialogue," in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 456. In reply to the same charge of Baylie, Edward Winflow says: "For I perswade myself, never people upon earth, lived more lovingly together and parted more sweetly than we, the church at Leyden, did; not rashly, in a distracted humor, but upon joint and serious deliberations, after seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer; whose gracious preference we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us, from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended." See Winflow's "Brief Narration," in Young's *Chron. of the Pilgrims*, p. 380.

The toleration extended to all comers in Holland gained for that country little favor at the hands of some Massachusetts writers. Says Johnson, "Yee Dutch come out of your hods-podge, the great mingle-mangle of Religion among you hath caused the Churches of Christ to increase so little with you, standing at a stay like Corne among Weeds." *Wonder-working Providence*, pp. 32, 33. And Ward, who in the early part of his life was on the Continent, evidently has in mind some Dutch city when he says: "I lived in a City where a Papist preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit: the Re-

ligion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopardlike." See "*The Simple Cofler of Aggawam in America*," p. 5.

<sup>94</sup> The Church of Plymouth never professed principles of rigid separation. Cotton adduces Elder Brewster's distrust of Williams on page 4, *ante*. The ground of this distrust was, left Williams should "run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the Se-Baptist, at Amsterdam, had done." See Morton's *Memorial*, p. 151. In reply to Baylie's statement, quoted in the last note, that the Pilgrims had erected a church in "the separate way," Cotton says: "Neither did that company which came over to *Plymouth*, erect here a New-Church (as the Dissuader taketh it,) for by consent of the Church which they left, they came over in Church-estate, and onely renewed their Covenant when they came hither." See *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 16. And much more strongly to the same effect, Edward Winflow, who, in his "Brief Narration," earnestly clears up the "gross mistake" that "the Church of Plymouth, which went first from Leyden, were Schismatics, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c." *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 387, 388. In the celebrated farewell discourse of Robinson, preserved by Winflow, is this passage, which sets in clear light the attitude of the Pilgrims with reference to Separation: "Another thing he commendeth to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious and the

a Church) which separated with Mr. *Williams*, first broke into a division about a small occasion (as I have heard) and then broke forth into *Anabaptisme*, and then into *Antibaptisme*, and *Familisme*, and now finally into no Church at all.<sup>95</sup>

But whereas I said, God had not prospered the way of the *Separation*, as not with peace amongst themselves, so neither with growth of Grace,

He answereth, for growth of Grace, though some false brethren have crept in, yet Satan himselfe cannot but confesse that multitudes of Gods witnesses (reproached with the names of Brownists, and Anabaptists) have kept themselves from the errors of the wicked, and doe [122] grow in Grace, and knowledge of our Lord Jesus, &c.

*Reply.* It is an unwelcome Subject to goe about to convince others of want of growth in Grace, especially, when wee speake of Churches, and that before wee have in a more private manner dealt with them. I looke at it as more reasonable to provoke our owne Churches, to more growth of Grace at home. For even true Churches (as that of *Ephesus*, *Revel.* 2.) may decay in their first love.

Onely thus much I would say, the first Inventor of that way which is called *Brownisme*, from whom the Sect tooke its name,<sup>96</sup> it is well knowne that he did not grow in Grace,

professors of it to the Christian world. And to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you before my coming; for, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And so advised us by all means to endeavour to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz, how near we

might possibly without sin close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them." See *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 397, 398. For the light in which the Pilgrims were viewed by the first settlers of Massachusetts, see *Endicott's* letter to Bradford, in *Morton's Memorial*, p. 146.

<sup>95</sup> Compare *ante*, p. 45, note 21.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Brown, of whom it has been justly said that "he takes a place in history from his connection with a great

but fell back first from his owne way, to take a Parsonage of a Parish-Church in *England* in *Northamptonshire*, called a Church: God so in a strange (yet wise) providence ordering, that he who had utterly renounced all the Churches in *England*, as no Church should afterwards accept of one Parish-Church amongst them, and it called a Church,<sup>97</sup> and from

religious movement, which he by no means originated, and which he did quite as much to prejudice as to promote," (Palfrey, Hist. N. E., 1, 123,) was born of an ancient and honorable family, being nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. He was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and having received ordination in the Church of England, preached for some time, with reputation in London, and afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571, he was cited before the high commissioners for non-conformity, and soon afterwards espoused the most extreme principles of Separation. After having been, according to his own account, imprisoned two and thirty times, he fled to Holland, and gathered a church, according to his own model, at Middleburg, Zealand. In 1589 he returned to England, and having renounced his principles of Separation, became rector of a church in Northamptonshire. Here he led an idle and irregular life, and died in 1630, in the 81st year of his age. He died in gaol, to which he had been committed for striking the constable of his parish. Neal, 1, 251; Fuller's Church History, B. ix. p. 167.

Cotton remarks: "Yet this backsliding of *Brown*, from that way of Separation, is a just reason why the Separatists may disclaim denomination from him, and refuse to be called after his name, Brownists. To speak with reason, if

any be justly to be called Brownists, it is onely such as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophane-nesse." Way Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 5.

To the assertion of Cotton that Brown was "the first Inventor of that way which is called Brownisme," Bradford replies: "No, verily; for, as one answers this question very well in a printed book, almost forty years ago, that the prophets, apostles and evangelists have in their authentic writings laid down the grounds thereof; and upon that ground is their building reared up and surely settled. Moreover, many of the martyrs, both former and latter, have maintained it, as is to be seen in the Acts and Monuments of the Church. Also, in the days of Queen Elizabeth there was a separated church, whereof Mr. Fitts was pastor, and another before that in the time of Queen Mary, of which Mr. Rough was pastor or teacher, and Cudbert Simpson a deacon, who exercised amongst themselves, as other ordinances, so church censures, as excommunications, &c., and professed and practised that cause before Mr. Brown wrote for it." Bradford's Dialogue, p. 442. Cotton himself, in his reply to Baylie, acknowledges all that Bradford here claims. Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 4.

<sup>97</sup> The Parish of which Brown became rector, after he had renounced Separation, was named A-church, which Cot-

thence he fell to Organs,<sup>98</sup> in the Temple of his owne Church (as I have been credibly informed) and from thence to discord with his best hearers, and bitter persecution of them at the last. It is not Gods usuall manner of dealing to leave any of the first publishers or restorers of any Truth of his to such fearefull Apostacy from his Grace, though I Judge not his finall Estate.

I will not rehearse what I read in printed Books of the unkind, and ungracious, and unbrotherly dealings of some of note in that way, whilst they maintained the rigor of it. That which the Examiner himselfe hath rehearsed in this very chapter, may suffice to shew what growth of Godlinesse was found in that Church, the Officer whereof himselfe styleth a worthy Instrument of Gods prayse: and surely he was a man that deserved well of the Church, for sundry of his Learned, and painfull, and profitable labours. One would hope, that where the Lord blesteth a people with growth of godlinesse, the people would grow best under the best Ministers of that way. Mr. *Aynsworths* name is of best esteeme (without all exception) in that way, who refused Communion with hearing in *England*. And if his people suffered him to

ton calls "a reall check to his error, who formerly counted every Church in *England* no church." Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 5.

<sup>98</sup> In the eyes of Cotton this seems to have been one of the most convincing proofs of Brown's depravity. The objection of the Puritans to instrumental music is well known. Compare the following: "Organs and other church music they call idol service, because it serves not to any edification, but draws the mind to carnal delight; besides, this was a part of the Levitical service which

is now ceased in Christ, and for many hundred years after the apostles musical instruments were not known to the Church, till in the year 653, the old serpent, by pope Vitelianus, brought up the organs, and to have them go, about the same time, that beast, with Gregory and Gelafius, (two monsters like himself,) ordained descant, forward and backward, plain song and prick-song, and thus was the music made up, just as the devil would have it." See Canne's "Necessitie of Separation proved by the Non-conformists' Principles," p. 111.

live upon nince pence a week, with roots boyled (as the Examiner told us) surely either the people were growne to a very extreme, low [123] Estate, or else the growth of their godlinesse was growen to a very low ebb.<sup>99</sup>

### TO CHAP. XXIIII.

IN his 24. and 25. Chapters, the Examiner giveth Answer to that speech in my Letter, *That such (of the Separation) as erring through simplicity and tenderneſſe, have growne in Grace, have growne alſo to diſcerne their lawfull Liberty for the bearing of the word from the Engliſh Preachers.* This I ſpeake with reſpect to M<sup>r</sup>. *Robinson*,<sup>100</sup> and to his Church,

<sup>99</sup> Bradford gives this explanation:—“The truth is, their condition for the moſt part was for ſome time very low and hard. It was with them as, if it ſhould be related, would hardly be believed. And no marvel. For many of them had lain long in priſons, and then were baniſhed into New foundland, where they were abuſed, and at laſt came into the Low Countries, and wanting money, trades, friends or acquaintances, and languages to help themſelves, how could it be otherwiſe? The report of Mr. Ainfworth was near thoſe times, when he was newly come out of Ireland with others poor, and being a ſingle young man and very ſtudioſus, was content with a little. And yet, to take off the aſperſion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reaſon thereof is miſtaken; for he was a very modeſt and baſhful man, and concealed his wants from others, until ſome ſuſpected how it was with him, and preſſed

him to ſee how it was; and after it was known, ſuch as were able mended his condition; and when he married afterwards, he and his family were comfortably provided for. But we have ſaid enough of theſe things. They had few friends to comfort them, nor any arm of fleſh to ſupport them; and if in ſome things they were too rigid, they are rather to be pitied, conſidering their times and ſufferings, than to be blaſted with reproach to poſterity.” See Bradford’s “Dialogue,” in *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 440, 441.

<sup>100</sup> The Rev. John Robinson, the celebrated paſtor of the Pilgrim church at Scrooby, and at Leyden, was born in 1575, and probably received his education at the Univerſity of Cambridge. He died at Leyden, March 1, 1625.

Robinson began his career by profeſſing the moſt extreme principles of Separation. The change in his views alluded to above, is thus deſcribed by Cot-

who as he grew to many excellent gifts both of Grace and nature: so he grew to acknowledge, and in a Judicious, and godly discourse to approve and defend the lawfull Liberty of hearing the word from the godly Preachers of the Parishes in *England*.<sup>101</sup>

But in this 24. Chapter the Examiner answereth nothing against the truth of my speech. Onely he telleth of *four*e sorts of Backsliders from sundry Truthes of God, whom he bath

ton: "As a fruit of his studious inquisition after the Truth, hee resorted (as I have understood) to many judicious Divines in *England* for the clearing of his Scruples, which inclined him to separation: and when hee came into Holland, hee addressed himself to Doctor Ames, and Mr. Parker: rather preventing them with seeking counsell and satisfaction, than waiting for their compassion. But as they excelled in learning and godlinesse, so in compassion and brotherly love also; and therefore as they discerned his weanednesse from self-fulnesse, so did they more freely communicate light to him, and received also some things from him, the fruit of which was (through the grace of Christ) that the Dissuader himself confesseth, 'hee came back indeed one halfe of the way: Acknowledging the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of *England*, in the Word and Prayer: but not in the Sacraments and Discipline, which was (saith he) a faire Bridge, at least a faire Arch of a Bridge for union.'" Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 8.

Edward Winslow testifies to the same effect: "For his doctrine, I living three years under his ministry, before we began the work of plantation in New England, it was always against separation

from any of the churches of Christ; professing and holding communion both with the French and Dutch churches, yea, tendering it to the Scotch also, as I shall make appear more particularly anon; even holding forth how wary persons ought to be in separating from a Church, and not till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, only to bear witness against the corruption that was in it.

"Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first than towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union, so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schism and division, there was nothing in the world more hateful to him." See Winslow's Briefe Narration, in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 388, 389.

<sup>101</sup> This discourse was entitled "A Treatise of the lawfulness of hearing of the ministers in the Church of England; penned by that learned and reverend divine, John Robinson, late pastor to the English church of God at Leyden. Printed according to the copy that was found in his study after his decease; and now published for the common good. Anno 1634."

*observed to be left of God to Jad and exemplary spirituall Judgements.*

But because he speaketh of such as have decayed in grace, and I speake of such as grow in grace, his instances come not neere the point in hand. I easily beleive that Hypocrites may grow from evill to worse deceiving and being deceived: 2 *Tim.* 3. 13. But a sincere humble Christian, though he may start aside for a season, yet Christ is not wont to leave him so: but seeketh up every stray-sheep of his, and bringeth them to heare and know his voyce in the mouthes of his Shepherds.

## TO CHAP. XXV.

**I**N this 25. chapter, because I had said, as they *have growne in Grace, they have growne in discerning their lawfull Liberty to beare the word from the English Preachers.*

He tels us, *he might here engage himselfe in a controversie with me, but that neither the Treatise will permit: nor is there need, since it hath pleased the Father of Lights to stirre up the spirit of a faithfull [124] witnesse of his Truth, in this particular, M<sup>r</sup>. Canne, to make a large and faithfull Reply to a Booke printed in M<sup>r</sup>. Robinsons name, tending to prove such a lawfull Liberty.*

*Reply.* M<sup>r</sup>. Cann is unknowne unto me, and his Booke<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The title of Mr. Canne's book was, "A Stay against Straying: wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinson, he undertakes to prove the unlawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England, 1642." The "Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England,

proved by the Nonconformists Principles," which has been before referred to, was published in 1634, and was designed especially as a reply to Dr. Ames.

It is greatly to be regretted that not one of the biographers of Williams has taken pains to trace his connection with

also: which I have not had the Liberty to get, in these remote ends of the world. I shall willingly bestow the reading of them if they come to my hands, and God give opportunity, especially if I see the spirit of a faithfull witnesse in them, which the Examiner extolleth. Onely I am apt to thinke, as young men grow in yeares, and gifts, they will also grow up to the mellow-mildnesse, and softnesse and moderation of riper age as M<sup>r</sup>. *Robinson* in many things did.

Now from the name of *English* Preachers (which I used in my speech) the Examiner though he seeme to decline the engaging of himselfe in a controversie about hearing of them, yet he taketh occasion to enter into a threefold discourse about them.

*The first in (this chapter) concerning this title, English Preachers. Secondly, concerning bearing them in chapter 26. Thirdly concerning their calling in chap. 27.*

The summe of his discourse about the title of these Preachers, standeth in these particulars.

*First, that M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton acknowledgeth, the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, to Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Overseers, Elders: and that their proper worke is, to feed and governe, a truly converted, holy, and godly people, gathered into a flock or Church-Estate.*

*And not properly Preachers, to convert, beget, make Disciples, which the Apostles, and Evangelists properly were: so that according to M<sup>r</sup>. Cottons confessions, English Preachers are not*

the Separatists. From his arrival in New England, when he "refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there," until the day when he renounced the communion of his own

church in Salem, the question of Separation was evidently foremost in his thoughts, but the precise nature of his views, and their relation to similar views of other men, have never been exhibited. What seemed the vagary of an individual was in fact the logical conclusion forced on many minds.



*Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Elders, but Preachers of glad newes (Evangelists) men sent to convert and gather Churches, (Apostles,) &c.*

Secondly, yet the Examiner confesseth, that at the Pastors feeding his flock, and at the Prophets prophecying in the Church, an unbeliever coming in may be convinced, &c. but this is accidentall, &c.

Thirdly, the Examiner acknowledgeth that it pleased God to worke personall Repentance in the hearts of thousands in Germany, England, Low-Countries, France, Scotland, Ireland, &c. Yea, and who knoweth but in Italy, Spaine, and Rome, also, &c. but all this hath been under the notion of Ministers feeding their flocks, [125] not of Preachers sent to convert the unconverted, and unbelieving.

Reply. 1. Though I acknowledge the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, to be Pastors and Teachers: yet it is farre from me to thinke (howsoever the Examiner against my mind reporteth my mind otherwise) that they are not properly Preachers, to convert, beget, or make Disciples, &c.

For first though the worke of ordinary Ministers were not to convert, but to feed soules: yet their act of feeding is properly exercised by preaching the word. *Timothy* (as a Minister) is taught of *Paul* how to behave himselfe in the house of God which is the Church of God, 1 *Tim.* 3. 15.

And this he gave him in charge (as one great part of his worke) to preach the word *in season and out of season*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. Besides they were neither Evangelists, nor Apostles, surely (for then they could not have been so miscarried) but the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, (Pastors, and Teachers of Churches) of whom *Paul* speaketh, (*Phil.* 1. 15, 16.) Some preach Christ faith he, even of envie, and strife, and some of good will: The one preach Christ of contention not sincerely: the other of Love.

Againe, *Paul faith the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel*, 1 Cor. 9. 14. Speake-th he that only of Apostles, and Evangelists onely, and not of ordinary Church-Officers? of all doubtlesse, according to *Gal. 6. 6.*

Moreover, what are Preachers but publishers of the Gospel, of glad tydings of the word of God? for so faith the Apostle, *preach the word*, 2 Tim. 4. 2. And what is preaching the word, but explication and application of it? and is not the explication and application of the word, as fit to feed foules, as to convert them?

Secondly, when he makes it to be not the proper worke of Pastors, and Teachers, to preach for conversion, but accidentall onely, and counteth and calleth it a most preposterous worke for ordinary Ministers to preach for conversion, &c.

He must needs give me leave to dissent from him, my Reasons be 1. from the institution and worke of the Ministry to the worlds end, whereof one is, to make Disciples, *Matth. 28. 19, 20.*

Say not, that is a peculiar Act of the Apostolick Office: for the Lord Jesus speaketh of three Acts: making Disciples, Baptizing, [126] Teaching: and in the exercise of these he promisseth to be with his Apostles, and their successours unto the end of the world, *ver. 20.* Successours I say, for the Apostles themselves were not to continue themselves in the exercise of those Acts to the end of the world, in their owne persons, but in their successours, the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel.

Secondly, from the end why Christ gave Pastors, and Teachers, as well as Apostles and Evangelists: which was for the worke of the Ministry, for the gathering together of the Saints, as well as for the building of them up to a perfect man, *Ephes. 4. 11, 12, 13.*

Thirdly from the Estate of the Church, wherein it seldom or never falleth out, but some Hypocrites are found: and besides them, many Infants, and these had need of converting Grace.

Fourthly, from the ordinary way of Conversion, which is by hearing the word, and the word preached by a Minister sent, *Rom.* 10. 14. to 17. either therefore there must be no conversion of soules after the decease of the Apostles and Evangelists: or those who are to be converted, must be converted by private Christians, or by the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, the successors of the Apostles; but surely not the first: for God will have in every age some or other converted to his Grace to praise his name throughout all Generations.

Not the second: for they shall not be ordinarily converted by private Christians, for the Apostle saith, *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by a Preacher, and him sent.* Therefore the third way remaineth, that Faith is intended of God to be wrought from age to age by the ordinary Ministry of the Gospel.

If the Conversion of soules were accidentall to the worke of the Minister, it were then *præter scopum efficientis*, besides the intent of the worker. But it is neither beside the intention of the principall worker, God (*for he worketh all things according to the Counsell of his owne will, Ephes.* 1. 11.) nor besides the intention of the Minister, for as hath been said, it is one maine intent and end of his Office, to make Disciples, and gather Saints; and *Solomon* maketh it an act of wisdom, and therefore not an act of accidentall casualty to winne soules, *Prov.* 11. 30.

If it be said why are they called Pastors, if they be also Fathers? Pastors are for feeding, not for begetting.

127] *Ans.* Pastors are also Fathers: and though they be

called Pastors, yet the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel have other Titles also, which imply more then feeding: as they are called Teachers, and Teachers of the ignorant, *Rom. 2. 20.* (to minister saving knowledge to them) as well as of men of understanding. And Elders in the greek Language have their name from Embassadors, *Πρεσβυτερος* an Elder, from *πρέσβυς* an Embassador, and it is one worke of heavenly Embassadors to beseech men to be reconciled unto God, *2 Cor. 5. 20.* yea and Pastors themselves (whose worke is properly to feed) their feeding is with the word of Life, which is able to quicken dead soules to life, as to nourish living soules to growth in Christ Jesus. The whole worke of *Peters* Apostolicall calling was wrapped up in a Pastorall name, and worke, *John 21. 15, 16, 17.*

Those two Reasons therefore are voyd of true and sound reason, which moved the Examiner to enter upon this *passage*. *First, because* (saith he) *so many excellent and worthy persons mainly preach for Conversion, and yet account themselves fixed and constant Ministers to particular Congregations, &c.*

*Secondly, that in these great Earth-quakes of all Estates civill and spirituall, such a Ministry might be sought after, whose proper worke might be preaching for converting of soules to Christ.*

For by that which hath been said may plainly appeare that those constant Ministers who mainly preach for Conversion (so be it they attend, not to that onely, but to building up also) they doe herein attend to a proper worke of their calling: and now to looke for another new Ministry (say of Apostles or Evangelists) to attend conversion of soules onely, is to looke for a blessing which the Lord hath not promised: and besides himselfe hath ordained sufficient ordinary meanes for that end, as hath been shewed both here, and in some former passages of this Treatise.

## TO CHAP. XXVI.

**I**N this Chapter the Examiner falleth upon the second part of discourse, about English Preachers, to wit, about the lawfulness of hearing of them, and though he said before in the former [128] chapter, *he would not engage himselfe in this Controversie*: yet here he giveth a double Argument against it.

His first Argument is, from my testimony, which how much he weigheth, is better knowne to himselfe then to me.

*M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton (saith he) himselfe maintaineth, that the dispensing of the word in a Church-state, is Christs feeding of his flock, Cant. 1. 8. Christs kissing of his Spouse, Cant. 1. 2. Christs embracing of his Spouse in the marriage bed, Cant. 1. 16. Christs nursing of his Children at his wives breasts, Cant. 4. And is there no communion between the Shepherd and his sheep? the Husband and the wife in chaste kisses and embraces? the Mother and the child at the breasts?*

*Answer.* 1. The dispensing of the word in a Church-State (that is by Church-Officers to Church-members, united together in Church-State) it is indeed an expression of familiar and deare Communion between Christ and his Church, as between the husband and his spouse, between the nursing mother and the child, and between the shepherd and his flock: But suppose Pagans and Indians should ordinarily frequent our Church-Assemblies (as they are wont to doe in hearing the word) doth he think, I would maintaine, that there is the like spirituall and familiar Communion between Christ, and them, as between Christ, and his Church?

*Answer,* 2. Besides, the question is not what communion Christ may have with a stranger in the hearing of the word in the Assembly of his Church: but what communion there is between the Officer of the Church, who preacheth the

word and the stranger. Christ out of his soveraigne grace may dispense himselfe to the stranger in what relation he pleaseth; hee may make the word both as spirituall feed, and as food to him, and so may declare himself both a father, and a Pastor, and husband, and a mother to him; and yet no such Church-relation passe between the Church-Officer, and the stranger.

*Answer.* 3. Suppose there did grow some spirituall relation between the Church-Officer, and the stranger, as God might so blesse his Ministry, as to make him a spirituall Father, and feeder to the stranger :) yet this Relation is not between the Preacher and the stranger in respect of his Office, but in respect of his gift, as I declared above.

129] The reason of the difference is evident :

1. Church-relation, between a Church-Officer, and Church member, is constant, and permanent, and not to be dissolved, but by consent of the Church : but this relation between the Preacher and stranger is transient, and the intercourse of the exercise of their relation easily changeable, at the discretion of the stranger, without the consent, or cognizance of the Church.

2. Church relation between an Officer and a member, carrieth on the duties of Church-worke between them unto full accomplishment. If any offence grow between an Officer, and a member, the one hath power to deale with the other in a Church-way unto a perfect healing : but there is not the like power or liberty, either in preacher, or stranger, so to proceed one with another, in case of any such offence.

The Examiners second Argument is taken also from mine own confession, as if there were no waighthy Argument to be found in this case, but what might be gathered up from the weaknesse, or unwarinesse of my expressions. But thanks be

to God, that hath so guided my words, that no such advantage can justly be taken from them, as to countenance so ungodly an error.

*Mr. Cotton* (saith he) *confesseth, that the fellowship in the Gospel, (Phil. 1. 5.) is a fellowship or Communion in the Apostles doctrine, Community, breaking of bread, and prayer, in which the first Church continued, Acts 2. 46. All which overthroweth the doctrine of lawfull participation of the word and prayer in a Church-state, where it is not lawfull to communicate, in the breaking of bread, or seales.*

*Ans.* If this be all the Conclusion that he striveth for, that participation of the word and prayer, is not lawfull in a Church-estate, where it is not lawfull to communicate in the seales, I shall never contend with him about it. I should never thinke it lawfull there to enter into a Church-estate, where I thought it lawfull onely to partake in hearing, and prayer, and not in the seales also. But this is that I deny, A man to participate in a Church-estate, where he partaketh onely in hearing and prayer, before and after Sermon; and joyneth not with them, neither in their Covenant, nor in the seales of the Covenant.

**T**HE third part of the Examiners discourse touching *English* Preachers, taketh up this 27 Chapter: and it is concerning the calling and commission of the *English* Preachers.

*Mr. Cotton* himselfe (saith he) *and others most eminent in New-England, have freely confest:*

First, *That notwithstanding their profession of Ministry in Old England: yet in New-England (till they received a Call-*

ing from a particular Church) that they were but private Christians.

Secondly, *That Christ Jesus hath appointed no other Calling to the Ministry, but such as they practise in New-England, and therefore consequently, that all other, which is not from a particular Congregation of godly persons, is none of Christs.*

*As first, a Calling and Commission from the Bishops.*

Secondly, *From a Parish of naturall and unregenerate persons.*

Thirdly, *From some few godly persons, yet remaining in Church-fellowship after the Parish way.*

Fourthly, *That eminent gifts and abilities are but qualifications fitting or preparing for a Call to an Office, 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.*

*All which premises duly considered, he desireth that M. Cotton, and all that feare God, might try what will abide the fiery Triall in this particular, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed in flaming fire, &c.*

*Reply.* It is a weake cause that is maintained onely by the testimonies of adversaries, and them either mistaken or falsified.

It is in him either a mistake, or a fraudulent expression of our mindes, to say, *That notwithstanding our former profession of Ministry in Old England, yet (till we received a Calling from a particular Church) we were but private Christians.*

This speech may be so conceived, as if notwithstanding our former profession of Ministry in *Old England*: yet indeed we confest, our Ministry there was no Ministry: and this is a false expression of our mindes.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Opinions respecting this question were, however, far from being as harmonious as the language of Cotton would imply. Says Thomas Lechford, who took especial pains to acquaint himself

with the ecclesiastical theories prevailing in New England: "Some Ministers have there heretofore, as I have heard, disclaimed the power of their Ministry received in *England*, but others among



It may be also conceived, that we confest, we had no calling from a particular Church, till we came to *New-England*. And this is also a false expression of our mindes likewise.

Or it may be conceived, that notwithstanding our former profession [131] and exercise of Ministry in *Old England*: yet being cast out from thence by the usurping power of the Prelacy, and dismissed (though against their wills) by our Congregations, (save onely such as came along with us) we looked at our selves as private members, and not Officers to any Church here, untill one or other Church might call us unto Office. This fence of our profession is true, but nothing availeable to the Examiners intendment.

Secondly, It is in him another mistake, or else a fraudulent expression of our mindes, when he saith, *Wee bold and freely confesse, that Christ Jesus hath appointed no other Calling to the Ministry, but such as we practise in New-England: And that any other Calling to the Ministry, which is not from a particular Congregation of godly persons, is none of Christs.*

Though we doe beleieve and professe the calling which we have received to the Ministry in *New-England*, to be of Christ: yet

1. It is an insolent phrase that favoureth of more arrogancy, then either we dare use, or allow in our selves or others, to seeme to make our calling to the Ministry in *New-England*, a Rule, and patterne, and precedent to all the Churches of Christ throughout the world. Did ever any man meete with such an expression in any of our writings? *That Christ them did not.*" See "Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England," in Mass. Hist. Col., 3d Series, 3, 65. This tract was published in London, in 1642. Cotton says of it: "The Book is unfitly called plaine dealing, which (in respect of many passages in it) might rather be called false and fraudulent." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 71. It is evident, however, that considerable modification had taken place in the views expressed "by all," at the ordination of Wilton, compare *ante*, page 77, note 45.

*Jefus hath appointed no other Calling to the Ministry, but such as we praëtise in New-England?* Such language doth neither become the lips of Mr. Williams, nor of any Minister in *New-England*.

2. Though we beleve our calling to be of God, yet we doe neither beleve nor professe, that every difference from us which other Churches may use in the calling of their Ministers, doth straight way make their callings no callings, or no callings of Christ. Though it be our manner (and as wee beleve according to the word) that every Church chooseth and calleth their own Ministers, and ordaineth them by the Presbytery of the same Church: yet if the Presbytery of other Churches commend a Minister to a vacant Church, and upon the acceptance of the Church, if the presbyters of those Churches doe ordaine him with the consent of the Church, we doe not professe that this is no calling of Christ, or that these are no Ministers of Christ. The free choice of the Church is preserved (for ought we know) in their free acceptance of a Minister commended to them. And whether the Minister be [132] ordained by imposition of hands, at all, or no, and if by imposition of hands, by the hands of fellow-Elders of other Churches with the consent of the Church: We neither put so much waight in such a Rite, though Apostolicall; nor doe we so farre reſtraine the libertie of communion of Churches, that if they shall communicate such entercourse of Church-aCTIONS one to another, then all their callings and administrations to be of none effect. Wee are not so masterly and peremptory in our apprehensions: And yet (with submission) we conceive, the more plainly and exactly all Church-aCTIONS are carried on according to the letter of the rule, the more glory wee shall give unto the Lord Jefus, and procure the more peace

to our Consciences, and to our Churches, and reserve more purity and power to all our Administrations.

3. Though we doe beleewe, and professe, that a Church (by rule) ought to be a Congregation of godly persons, or at least of such as professe godlinesse: yet if (through neglect of the power of doctrine) few godly persons be left in a Congregation, & (through neglect of discipline) few of those who professe godlinesse be found so blamelesse, as the purity of the Sanctuary requireth: yet we doe not straight way professe that such Congregations are no Churches, or that a Ministry chosen by such a Congregation, are none of Christs.

It is true, Gods chiefeft regard is of his chosen Saints, godly persons. To them, and for them, he hath given Church-estate, Church-Covenant, and seales, Church-Officers, with all the power of the administrations of the holy things, the ordinances of Christ, *Ephes.* 4. 11, 12, 13. But yet that his holy Saints might be preserved, ἀμειψόμενοι, without scruples and distracting perplexities in their Church-Communion, the Lord is pleased for their sakes to tolerate much hypocrisie, and many aberrations in Church-matters, before he reject Churches as no Churches, Ministry as no Ministry of Christ, callings as no callings.

To speake then a word to the inferences, which the Examiner gathereth from the two former mistaken confessions of ours.

As, 1. *That a Calling or Commission received from the Bishops is none of Christs.*

*Reply.* 1. We doe not beleewe nor professe, that the Ministers of *England*, who received Ordination from the Bishops, did receive [133] their calling from the Bishops; their Episcopall ordination is no part of their vocation to the Ministry. Their vocation or calling is from Christ by the Elec-

tion or at least acceptation of the Congregation : The ordination is onely *Adjunctum Consummans* of the solemnity of their calling, as hath been shewed above.<sup>104</sup>

*Reply.* 2. Episcopall ordination, though it be an aberration from the institution : yet we doe not conceive, that it maketh an abrogation of the calling of a Minister. Extrinsecall pollutions, though they defile the calling, yet they doe not destroy it.

His second inference is ; *That a Calling from a Parish of naturall and unregenerate persons, is none of Christs.*

*Reply.* 1. It is an hard saying, to say that all of the Parish are naturall and unregenerate Persons. Such as are swift to judge themselves, are slow to judge others.

*Reply.* 2. Suppose they were all naturall and unregenerate persons ; yet they professing Christianitie, and meeting together every Lords day, for the worship of the Lord Jesus, and desiring to have a Minister to instruct them therein, their calling is not a nullitie. I cannot say, that the worshippers of God at *Philippi*, (whereof *Lydia* was one) (who met together for prayer every Sabbath day) were any of them better then unregenerate persons, before *Paul* and *Sylas* came

<sup>104</sup> See *ante*, p. 83. Compare also the Cambridge Platform, Chap. IX., Sect. 2. "This ordination we account nothing else but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church, whereunto he had a right before by election ; being like the installing of a magistrate in the Common-wealth, Ordination therefore is not to go before but to follow election. The essence and substance of the outward calling of an ordinary office in the church, does not consist in his ordination, but in his voluntary and free election by the church, and his accepting of that election ; whereupon

is founded that relation between pastor and flock, between such a minister and such a people. Ordination does not constitute an officer, nor give him the essentials of his office." The Cambridge Platform was "agreed upon by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, assembled in the Synod, at Cambridge, the 8th Month, Anno 1649."

It is an instance of Cotton's fondness for special pleading that he thus strangely classes the forced "acceptation" of the English parishes with the free "election" that prevailed in the New England churches.

amongst them. And yet if a man of *Macedonia* come and call *Paul* and *Sylas*, to come and helpe them, they assuredly gather, that the Lord had called them to preach the Gospel to them, *Acts* 16. 9, 10.

His third inference is; *That a Calling from some few godly persons, yet remaining in Church fellowship after the Parish way, is not of Christ.*

*Reply.* Then it would follow, that a remnant of godly persons is not sufficient to constitute and denominate a Church, if the greater part be corrupt and uncleane. But the Prophet *Isaiah* was of another minde, and hath taught us by the Holy Ghost to judge otherwise: *Except* (saith he, *Isai.* 1. 9.) *the Lord of Hosts had left us a very small Remnant, wee should have been as Sodom, wee should have been like unto Gomorrah;* In his judgement, it is not a multitude of hypocrites and prophane persons, that maketh a Church (where a remnant of godly persons are found) to become as *Sodom* or *Gomorrah*: But it is a remnant, a very small remnant, that preserve the Church from becoming as *Sodom*, or *Gomorrah*.

134] His fourth and last inference is; *That eminent gifts and abilities, are but qualifications fitting and preparing for a Call, or Office, according to 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.*

*Reply.* We readily acknowledge it: but yet if a few godly persons shall call for the employment of these gifts to their spirituall edification: The men who are qualified with these gifts, are not onely fitted and prepared for a call, or office, but actually called unto office; at least, to preach the word unto them, though not to administer the Covenant, or seales of the Covenant, but onely to them and their seed, who yeeld professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ Jesus. If any through ignorance or infirmitie proceed further in their administrations, I doe beleeeve the repentance of the Minis-

ters, (for finnes knowne and secret) and the faith of the godly party, is more able to sanctifie the corrupt and uncleane sort to their Communion; then the corruption of the uncleane sort is able to corrupt the Minister, and Worship, and Church-estate of all.

### TO CHAP. XXVIII.

**I**N this last Chapter of his, though he doe repeate some passages of the close of my Letter; yet I doe not discern how his Answer is fitted at all to those passages. Nevertheless, because he is pleased to gather from those passages, *That I have not duly considered sundry particulars*: I am willing to take up the consideration of them, for a Conclusion: The first particular is, *The necessitie of Separation between the garden of the Church, and the wilderness of the world: As the Church of the Jewes under the old Testament was separate from the world; so ought the Church of the New Testament to be.*

*Reply.* 1. Of this particular I have considered, not in a confused generalitie (as he delivereth it) but in a distinct apprehension, thus; The world is taken in Scripture more wayes then one, and so is separation: The world is taken sometimes for the frame of heaven and earth, and all the hosts of them, man and beast, &c. as when God is said to *have made the world*, Act. 17. 24. Sometimes for the state of the world; as when Christ is said to *have redeemed us from this present evill world*, Gal. 1. 4. Sometimes for the Civill 135] Government of this world; as when the Apostle exhorteth the *Romans*, not to conformance their Church-bodies according to the platforme of the Romane Monarchy, into Oecumenicall, Nationall, Provinciall, Diocesane Bodies, Rom. 12.

2. Sometime for the wicked of the world ; as when it is said, *The world loveth his own*, Joh. 15. 19. *And the whole world lyeth in wickednesse*, 1 Joh. 5. 19. Sometimes likewise, for the corruption that is in the world, 2 *Pet.* 1. 4. *The lusts of the world*, 1 Joh. 2. 16.

In like manner, there be more wayes of Separation then one ; As, first, there is a separation in affection, *Love not the world*, 1 Joh. 2. 16. Jam. 4. 4. Secondly, there is a separation in habitation, which is part of the meaning of *Isai.* 52. 11. *Revel.* 18. 4. Thirdly, there is a separation of Communion, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to 17<sup>th</sup>. Besides, there be diversities likewise of Communion : for there is a Civill Communion ; and there is a religious Communion. And of either sort, there is a confederate Communion : And there is a Communion without confederacy : And of confederate Communion, there is a confederacy in matters of common civillitie ; and there is a confederacy in matters of more intimate friendship, societie, and familiaritie.

To apply these different considerations of the world, and of Separations, according to the due and right apprehension thereof in the word of truth.

First, It is lawfull to have civill peace, and loving correspondency with neighbours in the world, yea even with Idolaters, and Infidels, so as not onely to trade with them, but to feast with them, yea and to succour them in their distresses, *Rom.* 12. 18. 1 *Cor.* 10. 27. *Luk.* 10. 34.

Secondly, It is lawfull to make leagues of peace with all men in the world, (even with Idolaters and Infidels) to wit, for free commerce, for trade, and inoffensive neighbourhood, *Gen.* 31. 44. to 53. *Judg.* 4. 17.

Thirdly, It is lawfull for the Subjects of the same State, to enter into confederacy amongst themselves, and with their

Princes, to submit to the same Civill Government, and Lawes, and to assist one another in mutuall defence against a common enemy, 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. *Ecclef.* 8. 3.

But on the other side, this consideration I have had of Separation [136] from the world: which the Examiner may consider, whether it be due or no.

First, That from the world (as taken for the creatures of the world) we are to separate in affection, to wit, from the inordinate love thereof, *Jam.* 4. 4.

Secondly, From the world, as taken for the carnall malignant estate of it, we are to separate both in our affection, and in our conversation, *Gal.* 1. 4. *Phil.* 3. 20.

Thirdly, From the world, as taken for the Civill Government of it, we are to separate our Church-bodies, and the government thereof in frame and constitution, *Rom.* 12. 1, 2.

Fourthly, From the world, as taken for the Cities and Countreys thereof, which are fit to pollute us with their prevalent pollutions, we are to separate in our habitations; which is part of the meaning of *Isai.* 52. 11. *Rev.* 18. 4.

Fifthly, From the world, as taken for the corruptions and lusts thereof, their evill examples, corrupt worship, Idolatries, superstitions, vaine fashions, and the worldly persons addicted to these things, we are to separate, both in affection, and in Communion, whether we speake of religious Communion, or of Civill Confederate Communion in matters of intimate friendship, society, and familiaritie. As we may not partake in Idolatrous feasts, or worship, nor enter into marriage-Covenant with Idolaters, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to 17. Nor may we confederate with them in leagues of amitie, to have friends and enemies in common, 1 *Kings* 20. 4. nor to have partnership in trade and commerce, 2 *Chron.* 20. 35, 36, 37.

Sixtly, There is yet another separation whereby the Church



and people of God, doe separate from the scandalous offenders of their own body, 2 *Thes.* 3. 6. 1 *Cor.* 5. 11. This, though it be in a speciall manner aymed at here by the Examiner, yet is it by him most improperly and confusedly called separation from the world. The Apostle doth most expressly contradistinguish these, the one from the other: *I wrote unto you* (saith he) *in an Epistle, not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with Idolaters, for then must yee needs goe out of the world. But if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, with such an one, no not to eate,* 1 *Cor.* 5. 9, 10, 11. As who should say, a fornicator or Idolatrous [137] brother of the Church is one thing; a fornicator and Idolater of the world is another, from a fornicator or Idolatrous brother, you are to be separate: from a fornicator or Idolater of the world, in some kinde you need not to separate; In as much therefore as the Churches of *England* doe not separate sundry notorious scandalous persons from their Church-Communion, though it be a leavening corruption: yet their sinne is not want of Separation from the world, but want of purification of the Church. In the meane time, they are separated from the world of Pagans, and Infidels, as the Church of *Israel* notwithstanding their toleration of all sorts of offenders, Idolaters, murderers, adulterers, they were yet separated from Pagans by profession of a different Religion, and the ordinances thereof.

The second particular which the Examiner saith M<sup>r</sup>. *Cotton* hath not duely considered, is, *That all the grounds and principles leading to oppose Bishops, Ceremonies, Common-Prayer, prostitution, of the Ordinances of Christ to the ungodly, and the true practise of Christs own Ordinances, doe necessarily conclude*

*a separation of holy from unholy, penitent from impenitent, godly from ungodly. And that to frame any other building upon such grounds and foundations, is no other then to raise the forme of a square house upon the keele of a Ship, which will never prove a soule-saving true Arke or Church of Christ Iesus according to the patterne.*

*Reply.* I cannot acknowledge what he saith, *that I have not duely considered, that all the grounds and principles leading to oppose Bishops, and Ceremonies, &c. doe necessarily conclude a separation of holy from unholy, &c.* For I have considered, and well weighed (after my slender measure) that they doe indeed conclude a three-fold separation of holy from unholy.

1. Doctrinall, that the Minister of Christ, whilest he liveth amongst such dissolute and scandalous persons, he is to separate them in the application of his doctrine, between the holy and unholy, between the precious and the vile: so as to make sad the hearts of the wicked, whom God would have to be made sad, and to strengthen the heart and hands of the righteous, whom God would have to be comforted.

Secondly, A practicall separation in a mans own person, that what a man findeth upon those grounds and principles to be [138] unwarrantable and sinfull, he doe forbear the same in his own practise, and dissuade others from the same by his doctrine and example.

Thirdly, An Ecclesiasticall separation, that when a man cannot continue in fellowship with such a Church, but that he shall be compelled to the practise of some sinne, or of necessitie to communicate with the sinnes of others, then (after all good means used, in vaine, to redresse those evils) meekly to separate and withdraw himselfe from fellowship with them in Church-Communion, as one that cannot enjoy

the good which is found amongst them, without partaking in fundry evils that cleave to them.

Thus farre I have considered the grounds and Principles of Reformation, (of which the Examiner speaketh) and doe finde that they doe necessarily conclude, a separation of holy from unholy thus farre. But I confesse, I have not considered, nor can I finde out, by any further due consideration, that the principles and grounds of Reformation doe necessarily conclude a separation from the *English* Churches, as false Churches, from their Ministry, as a false Ministry, from their worship as a false worship, from all their professors, as from no visible Saints. Nor can I finde, that they doe either necessarily or probably conclude, a separation from hearing the word preached by godly Ministers in the Parish-Churches in *England*: Nor can I finde, that the building of our Churches in these ends of the world, *is the raising up of a square house upon the keele of a Ship*, unlesse it be the Arke of *Noah*: for as the soules in the Arke were saved from water; so we finde by experience, and good evidence from the word, that the Lord blesteth our Church-Communion and administrations with soule-saving efficacy, through his grace in Christ.

Thirdly, The third particular, which the Examiner saith, I have not duely considered, is, *The multitudes of holy and faithfull men and women, who have witnessed this truth from Queene Maries dayes, by writing, disputing, and suffering, farre above what the Non-conformists have done, &c.*

*Reply.* This particular hath been considered above in Answer to Chapter 23.

Fourthly, The fourth particular, which he desireth might be better considered, *Is our own praetise, and profession. Our praetise, in [139] constituting our Churches of none but godly*

persons, and uniting them into a body by voluntary mutuall Covenant, and adding none to them, but persons carefully examined and approved, and entering by way of confession, both of their finnes, and of their faith. Our practise also, in suppressing other English, who have attempted to set up a Congregation in a Parishionall way. Our profession in the late Answer we gave to many worthy persons, (whom yet we account godly Ministers and people) that we could not permit them to live in the same Common-wealth together with us, if they should set up any other Church and Worship, then what our selves practise.

Reply. 1. Our practise in the constituting and ordering our own Churches here, holdeth forth, what matter, and forme, and order of the Church, we doe beleewe to be most agreeable to the patterne set before us in the Gospel of Christ. And our not receiving all commers unto the Communion of the Lords Table, and other parts of Church-fellowship, (saving onely, unto the publick hearing of the Word, and presence at other duties) it argueth indeed, that such persons, either thinke themselves unfit materialls for Church-fellowship, (and so they never offer themselves to us) or else that we our selves conceive them to be as stones standing in need of a little more hewing and squaring, before they be layd, as living stones in the walls of the Lords house. All which amounteth onely to this, That we doe consider and bewaile the defects of the Churches of *England*, in receiving ignorant and scandalous persons to all the liberties of the Lords Table, and of his house, as other wayes. But it doth not at all argue (neither is it our minde it should argue) their Churches, and worship, and Ministry, and members, should all of them be separated from as false, or none at all.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> "The Question of Seperation, is a distinct Question from this in hand: every delinquencie in a Church, (whether Officers, or Members, or both) doth not forthwith put upon us a necessity of Seperation, *Omnia prius tentanda*: necessity

Our practise in suppressing such as have attempted to set up a Parishionall way, I never heard of such a thing here to this day.<sup>106</sup> And if any such thing were done, before my coming into the Countrey, I do not thinke it was done by forcible compulsion, but by rationally conviction.

But as for our profession, that wee should *answer many worthy Ministers and people in England, that wee could not permit them to live in the same Common-wealth with us, if they varied from us.*

I have cleared it above (in Answer to Chapt. 11.) to be a notorious [140] falshood: and but that I know the Devill is able to create slander of nothing, (as God is able to create truths of nothing) I should thinke it incredible, that any man who hath been in *New-England* should be able to say, (as the Examiner here doth) *that we persecute the Parishes in New-England, and yet frequent the Parishes in Old England.*

Fiftly, The fift particular which he thinks I have not duely considered is, *That in the Parishes (which M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton boldeth*

of Separation is the last remedy of grosse and notorious scandals, after all good meanes, still remaining incurable. Nevertheless there may be a lawful expedience of remooving from a more impure Church, to a more pure, without the necessity of separation, as hath been opened above, in clearing the state of the Question in hand with Mr. Rutherford." Cotton's Holiness of Church-members, p. 40.

<sup>106</sup> Williams doubtless had in mind the well known case of the Brownes, at Salem, with the particulars of which he must, from his residence there, have been familiar. See Morton's Memorial, page 148. The Brownes were banished in 1629. It is possible that Cotton, coming to New England as he did in 1633,

had never heard of this transaction; but it is unaccountable how one so prominent as an adviser of the magistrates should have been so ignorant of the settled policy of the Massachusetts colony, especially as twice already, in this very Reply, he has alluded to the apprehension felt for "Episcopall and malignant practises." See *ante*, pp. 4 and 28. Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," classes with Arians, Gortonists, Antinomians, Arminians, and malignant practises, the "Conformitants or Formalists, who being in a forme of worship of their owne, and joyne it with the worship God hath appointed in his Word." p. 24. This no doubt expresses the feeling with which any attempt "to set up a Parishionall way," would have been regarded.

*but inventions of men) how ever they would have liberty to frequent the worship of the Word, yet they separate from the Sacraments: And yet (according to our own Principles) there is as true Communion in the ministration of the Word, as in the Seales. What mystery (saith he) should be in this, but that here, (to wit, in Old England) the Crosse of Christ may be avoyded, if persons come to Church?*

*Reply. 1.* It is an untruth, that M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton holdeth the Parishs to be but inventions of men; for though I hold, that the receiving of all the Inhabitants in the Parish, into the full fellowship of the Church, and the admitting of them all unto the liberty of all the Ordinances, is an humane corruption, (and so if he will, an humane invention;) yet I doe not hold, nor ever did, that their Parishs were onely an humane invention. For I beleeve, the Lord Jesus hath the truth of his Churches, and Ministry, and worship in them, notwithstanding the inventions of men superadded to them.

*Reply. 2.* Though I doe beleeve, there is as true Communion in the ministration of the Word in a Church-estate (to wit, to such as are in Church-estate) with the Minister of the Word, as in the Seales. Yet it is farre from me to hold, and from any principle of mine to inferre, that there is as true Communion in the ministration of the Word to every hearer, as in the Seales; for then we might as easily admit our *Indians* to the Seales, as we doe admit them daily to the ministration of the Word.

*Reply. 3.* It is a malignant and Satanicall misconstruction of the intentions of such godly persons, who (out of sincere affection to spirituall growth) doe heare the Ministry of the Word from godly Preachers in *England*, to accuse them before God, and Angels, and men, that they doe it to avoyd

the Crosse of Christ, (to wit, persecution) which may be avoyded in a great measure, if persons come to Church.

141] It is well knowne, that sundry of them are so sincere and constant in their profession, that as they have suffered much for the cause of Christ, against humane corruptions in Gods worship: so they would be ready to suffer yet more, for neglecting to come to Church, if they suspected any humane corruption at all in it.

Againe, It is well knowne, that any stranger in *London*, (by removing now and then his lodging) may escape not onely persecution, but observation, for a longer time, then any of our hearers are ordinarily wont to sojourne there: Besides, in this time of univerfall freedome from all persecution during this long Parliament, why doe not our members of these Churches forbear to heare the Word in the Parishes now, when there is no feare nor danger at all of persecution, for not coming to Church?

His sixt and last particular consideration is, *That how ever M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton saith, He hath not found such presence of Christ and evidence of the Spirit in such (separate) Churches, as in the Parishes: What should be the reason of their great rejoycings and boastings of their own separations in New-England, in so much, that some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, that even the Apostles Churches were not so pure? Surely if the same new English Churches were in Old England, they could not meete in Old England without persecution: which therefore in Old England they avoyde, by frequenting the way of Church-worship in the Parishes, which in New-England they persecute.*

*Reply.* 1. The Examiner might easily have satisfied himselfe in this consideration, if he had been willing to understand that which he knoweth to be our meaning. He knoweth very well, and hath often told us of it before, that we our

selves in our Churches doe practise some kinde of separation here, to wit, separation, not from the Churches in *Old England*, as no Churches, but from some corruptions found in them. In such Churches as so separate, wee never speake of them, that we had not found the presence of Christ, or evidence of the Spirit in such Churches. But I speake of such rigid Separatists Churches, as renounce the Churches, and Ministry, and worship, and Saints of *England*, as if they were all false, or none at all, and therefore utterly doe refuse to heare the word in their Assemblies, which is such a way of separation, as I told him in my Letter, *the Lord Jesus never delivered, nor any of his Apostles after him, nor any of his Prophets before him*. Of which he taketh no [142] notice, nor giveth any ground either from Christ, or his Apostles, or Prophets, for such practise; but putteth us off, that we practise separation our selves, and rejoyce therein, as if our separation and theirs were both of one nature, and measure: which indeed differ as much (as I said before) as Chirurgery, and Butchery.

*Reply. 2.* When he telleth us, *We boast of our separations in New-England, yea so farre, as that some of our most eminent have said, that even the Apostles Churches were not so pure.*

I must needs professe, I never heard, nor read of such a speech, but onely in this Examiners Booke. The speech it selfe favoureth, I know not whether of more ignorance, or arrogancy, or blasphemy. The broadest speech in this kinde, that ever I heard to fall from the lips of any in this Countrey, was that of Mr. *Williams* himselfe, who whilest he lived at *Salem* (as I am credibly informed) would say, *That of all the Churches of Christ in the world, the new English were the most pure, and of all the new English, the Church of Salem.* I am so well acquainted with the liberty and boldnesse of the Examiners tongue in calumniations, that untill I know the



name of that eminent person, whom he reproacheth to have so spoken, he must give me leave to feare, either a mistake, or that which is worse.<sup>107</sup>

*Reply. 3.* It is a double calumny, (but fuitable to many other of the former) *that wee in New-England doe persecute the way of separation, whether the one kinde of separation, or the other.* It is true of neither, for we practise the one, and tolerate the other.

And againe, *that we frequent the Parish-Churches in Old England, to avoyd persecution.*

Unlesse mens tongues were their own, I wonder, how they can allow themselves to speake so excessively at random.

These his six Considerations, having so little considerable truth, or waight in them, I justly said, *That he in withdrawing the people of God from hearing the voyce of Christ in so many Congregations, both in New-England, and in Old, did not helpe Jehovah against the mighty, but Satan against Jehovah, and against the mighty Ordinances of his Word, and Ministry.*

But he answereth, *that he helpeth the zealous soules of the Separation, and he helpeth us to seeke the Lord Jesus without halting.*

How he helpeth them I know not, unlesse it be by depriving [143] them of many precious meanes of grace, which

<sup>107</sup> In reply to Baylie, who had quoted in his "Dissuasive" the statement of Williams, Cotton says: "Besides, Mr. Williams doth not ascribe these words to any definite persons in New-England. And, as I said before, Apocrypha testimonies will never goe with equall mindes for authentickall evidences. It is no new thing for Mr. Williams to mistake both himself and others, as hath appeared in the Reply both to his examination of that Letter, and to his *Bloody Tenent*. I never heard of any mans speech in New-

England so hyperbolicall in the praise of New-Englisch Churches, nor coming nearer to the words in hand, than the words reported of Mr. Williams himself: *That of all the Churches in the world, the Churches of New-England were the most pure; and of all the New-Englisch Churches, Salem (whereof himself was Teacher) was the purest.* But such arrogant comparisons are as smoke in Gods nostrils, *Esay, 65, 5.* the first born of vanity, and the first step to apostasie." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 28.

they might enjoy by hearing the Word in either *England*: or unlesse by his own example he now helpe them, *Proficere in peius*, to separate further from all instituted worship of the Lord, to cast off their own Churches, Ministry, Worship, as they have cast off others before, that so they might seeke (for that which will never be found under the Sunne) new Apostles to make all things new. And as little doe I know, how he helpeth us to seeke the Lord Jesus without halting, unlesse it be to seeke him, as he himselfe doth without Church-Ordinances.<sup>108</sup>

For the Conclusion of his Booke, he is willing to take up the conclusion of my Letter; *That whosoever will not kisse the Sunne*, (that is, will not heare and embrace the words of his mouth) *shall perish in their way*, Psal. 2. 12.

This word is established in heaven, and will take place in the earth throughout all generations.

But least this word might profit himselfe, (as selfe-love is apt to apply a word of threatening to any rather then to it selfe) he applieth it to M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, and to every soule, (to whom these lines of his may come) *seriously to consider, in this Controversie, if the Lord Jesus were himselfe in person in Old, or New-England, what Church, what Ministry, what Worship,*

<sup>108</sup> Compare *ante*, page 45, note 21. The following passage, from a later treatise of Williams, will, perhaps, put his views in a clearer light: "Eightly, In the discourse it will appear, how greatly some mistake, which say I declaime against all Ministries, all Churches, all Ordinances; for I professedly avow and maintain, that since the Apostasie, and the interrupting of the first ministry and order, God hath graciously and immediately stirred up and sent forth the ministrie of his Prophets, who during all

the raigne of Antichrist, have here prophesied in sackcloth, and the saints and people of God have more or less gathered to and assembled with them: they have praid and fasted together, and exhorted and comforted each other, and so de, notwithstanding that some are not perswaded and satisfied, (as others conceive themselves to be) as teaching the doctrines of Baptismes, and laying on of hands." See "The Hireling Ministry None of Christs;" The Epistle Dedicatory, p. 5.

*what Government he would set up, and what persecution he would practise toward them that would not receive him.*

For Answer, let me say in a word, this point hath been seriously considered already: and let it be still considered and pondered in the Ballance of the Sanctuary, and doubtlesse, for the first of these points, it will be found, that if the Lord Jesus were here himselfe in person, he would set up no other Church, nor Ministry, nor worship, nor government, then what himselfe hath appointed in his Word: which though the Examiner, and many others, have fought and searched what enormities they might finde in it, yet they have wearied themselves, and found nothing. So true is the faithfull promise of the Lord Jesus, that he hath built his Church upon a Rock, and the gates of Hell shall not prevaile against it, nor against the Ordinances thereof.

And for the latter point; *What persecution the Lord Jesus if he were on earth, would practise against those who would not receive him.*

144] The Answer is neere at hand, and is written for the warning of all gain-sayers; *Those mine enemies which would not that I should reigne over them, bring them hither, and slay them before my face, Luk. 19. 27.* And yet I would not be so understood (in alledging this Scripture) as if Christ did allow his Vicegerents to practise all, that himselfe would practise in his own person. For not all the practises, or acts of Christ, (as the Examiner seemeth to intimate) but the Lawes of Christ, are the Rules of mans Administrations. But of that more distinctly in due time, if the Lord shall give libertie to enquire further into the Examiners *Bloudy Tenent.*

To the Lord Jesus, be the kingdome, power, and glory.

*Amen.*

## APPENDIX.

IN adopting September third as the correct date of the Decree of Banishment pronounced against Roger Williams (see page 8, note 4, and page 30, note 13,) I followed, with Mr. Palfrey, the marginal date as given in the "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," published with official sanction, in the year 1853, under the editorial supervision of Dr. N. B. Shurtleff. Since the labors of the Editor seemed to be limited to the determination of these dates I did not allow myself to question their entire correctness. A subsequent personal inspection of the original records, preserved in the State House at Boston, has led me to a different conclusion, the grounds of which I will briefly indicate.

The Colonial Records of Massachusetts are contained in five folio volumes, the first of which includes the proceedings of the Company previous to the removal of the letters patent to America, and also the Minutes of the successive Courts from August 23, 1630, to December 10, 1641. This volume, though defaced in places, in the main is perfectly well preserved, and exhibits the distinctly marked chirography of four successive Secretaries, John Washburne, William Burgis, Simon Bradstreete, and Increase Newell.

It was the practice of each of them, in entering the minutes of a Court, to begin with a full statement of the place,

and date, of meeting, and a roll of the magistrates and deputies present. But in case of an adjournment of the Court, the vote of adjournment was simply entered, the minutes of the adjourned meeting following directly after, the change of time being indicated by the insertion of a new date in the body of the record. Thus, for example, the General Court which met May 6, 1635, was twice adjourned, the fact being indicated in the record by the successive entries, "The Court is adjourned till the first Wednesday in June," and "The Court is adjourned till the first Wednesday in July nexte." In each of these cases the new date is inserted in the body of the record, and is correctly noted by the Editor in the margin. From repeated instances of this kind, occurring in the records, the inference is inevitable that wherever a vote of adjournment is entered, an adjournment actually took place, and that all entries which follow such a vote must be regarded as minutes of the proceedings of such adjourned meeting.

It was also the practice to add, from time to time, a marginal synopsis of the more important matters embraced in the minutes of successive Courts, with the obvious design of facilitating reference. This marginal synopsis the Editor has printed, but respecting it he remarks, in his Preface, "The writing in the margin of these volumes is by many different persons, chiefly by Secretary Rawson,

whose entries are far from being what they should have been. Many entries are by modern hands, who, with a mistaken idea that they were making the ancient marginal writing more intelligible, have made numerous repetitions." The Editor further states that "all intended obliterations have been omitted in the printed copy." A too indiscriminate observance of this latter rule seems to have been the cause of the error under consideration.

The Minutes of the Court which decreed the sentence of Banishment, are in the strongly marked handwriting of Secretary Bradstreet. The record begins in the usual form, "Att the Gen<sup>l</sup>all Court, holden att Newe Towne, Sept<sup>r</sup> 2, 1635," with the roll of those present, and after reciting a few items of business, the entry is made, "The Court is adiorned till 8 a'clocke to morrowe," and in accordance with this the marginal date, placed by the Editor opposite the next entry, changes from Sept. 2, to Sept. 3. But for some unaccountable reason this second date, Sept. 3, is repeated in the margin throughout the remainder of the record, notwithstanding the fact, which seems to have escaped the notice of the Editor, that at the bottom of page 161 of the original a second vote of adjournment is recorded. The record reads, "The Court is adiorned to the Thursday after the nexte pt<sup>i</sup>cul<sup>r</sup> Court." The next particular, or Quarter Court, which consisted of the magistrates alone, met at Newe Towne, October 6, 1635, which that year fell on Tuesday. The Thursday following would give us October 8th as the day to which the General Court stood adjourned. It is true that the new date is not inserted as usual in the body of the

record, but now comes the important fact which I discovered by an inspection of the original record, but of which the printed volume contains no evidence. As if to remedy the inadvertent omission of the date there is inserted in the margin, in the handwriting of Secretary Bradstreet, the correct date, "Oftob<sup>r</sup> 8th." A later pen, from a comparison of ink evidently that of Secretary Rawson, has drawn a line of erasure across this marginal entry, without, however, rendering it in the least degree illegible. Deferring to the authority of Rawson, whose reasons for making this "obliteration" do not appear, the Editor, in the printed record, has taken no notice of this date, although following as it does the vote of adjournment, and written as it is by the same hand, it is difficult to see why it should not be regarded as part of the original minute. After the remark, already quoted from the Preface, that Secretary Rawson's entries "are far from being what they should have been," it is somewhat surprising that in this particular case, and in the face of so much evidence the other way, the Editor should have adopted his emendation.

In view of all these facts I submit that there is every reason to accept as correct the statement of Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, that the sentence of banishment against Williams was passed in the month of October. Hitherto this statement has seemed irreconcilable with the record, but if we accept as correct the date given by Secretary Bradstreet, what seemed an error on the part of Winthrop, becomes a most convincing corroboration. The only circumstance in the account of Winthrop that conflicts with this view is that he speaks of the sentence as having been passed

"the next morning," after Williams appeared before the court, while the record makes no mention of any further adjournment. But as Winthrop, from the fact that he omits the day of the month, and moreover inserts the account in his Journal after having already made an entry in November, evidently wrote it sometime after the event and from memory, it is not impossible that he may have confounded this meeting of the Court with the earlier meetings in September, or it may be that a preliminary hearing was granted Williams, before the magistrates, of which, since it involved no action, no mention was made in the record; or, again, which seems most probable, Winthrop may mean, not that the vote of banishment was passed the next morning, but that the next morning it was officially announced to Williams. Hence the expression used by Winthrop, "Sentenced him to depart."

For the assertion of Mr. Knowles, which has been repeated by all the biographers of Williams, that the Colonial Records give the date of banishment as November third, there is no support whatever. The Court which met Nov. 3, was the Quarter Court, and in minutes of its proceedings there is not the

slightest allusion to Roger Williams, nor to any thing connected with him. The assertion is the more surprising since Backus, whose work Mr. Knowles must have had constantly before him, after giving the account of Winthrop, adds in a note, "The province records agree with this account, only they do not set any date after the court met in September, before Mr. Williams sentence; but it might be October before it was passed." (Backus, 1, 70, note.) Professor Elton, combining in a single paragraph the accounts of Winthrop and Knowles, makes the somewhat remarkable statement that the Court met in October, and the next day, November 3d, "this cruel and unjustifiable sentence was passed."

With a view to economizing paper, the minutes of the Quarter Court were sometimes inserted without reference to chronological order. Thus the minutes of the Quarter Court that met Nov. 3, were inserted in a blank space before the minutes of the General Court that met Sept. 2. It seems most likely that from not observing this confusion the error of Mr. Knowles arose. A single reference to the original record would have corrected it.

Q U E R I E S  
O F  
HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

EDITED BY

REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD.





## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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EV. Mr. Orme, in his Memoirs of Dr. Owen, speaks of an "anonymous pamphlet by some Brownist in 1644, entitled 'Queries of Highest Consideration,' presented to the Dissenting Brethren, and the Westminster Assembly," as an important work, containing some most accurate statements relating to the distinct provinces of civil and ecclesiastical authority. Who this "Brownist" was, is not now a matter of doubt. Aside from the style and subject matter of the pamphlet, which clearly indicate the author, we have the positive language of John Cotton. In his "Answer to Master Roger Williams," occurs the following passage: "And then, as if New England were but an handful, from thence to rise up against the choicest ornaments of two populous nations, England and Scotland, the reverend Assembly of Divines, together with the reverend Brethren of the Apology, and above them all to address himself, according to his high thoughts, to propound Queries of high Concernment, as he (Williams) calleth them, to the High and Honorable Court of Parliament."

Charles I. and his Parliament were on the eve of their final rupture, when, in deference to the petition of the London clergy, praying for ecclesiastical reform, the House of

Commons requested that a general synod might be called by royal authority. The King refused to comply with their request, and the civil war began. The Scotch, with an army of twenty thousand men, marched into England to assist the Parliament, and to endeavor to establish Presbyterianism in place of Prelacy, which had been virtually overthrown. The House resolved, in consequence, "that such a government should be settled in the church as might be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and bring it into nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and the reformed churches abroad." An ordinance followed, bearing date June 12, 1643, "for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations." Such in brief was the origin of the Westminster Assembly.

This distinguished body first met in Henry VII.'s Chapel, July 1, 1643. It was composed of one hundred and twenty-one divines, selected by the House of Commons; six deputies from Scotland; ten English Peers; and twenty members of the Lower House of Parliament. From this time until February 22, 1649, they continued to meet, holding in all eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions. During this period they originated the Confession of Faith, the Directory of Public Worship, the Form of Church Government, and the Catechisms, which have so long been considered the standards of Presbyterian churches throughout the world. Hetherington regards the meeting of this body as "the most important event in the century in which it occurred," exerting and

yet to exert a wide and permanent influence upon the civil and religious history of mankind.

Of the one hundred and fifty-seven members composing the Westminster Assembly, seldom more than sixty were in attendance. Amongst them were a few Episcopalians, including Archbishop Usher, the Bishops of Bristol and Exeter, and Drs. Sanderfon and Hammond. But the king, by proclamation, forbade the meeting, and the Episcopalians immediately withdrew. Of those who remained some were Independents; a few, of whom Selden was the leader, were called *Eraſtians*, having no fixed sentiments in regard to the theories of church government and discipline then advocated;—the great body of the members, however, were *Presbyterians*, or at least so favorably inclined to that form of ecclesiastical polity as to be readily induced to accept it. The crisis at this time in national affairs was great. The Scotch allies were impatient, and the House of Commons was anxious to settle and dismiss a question which distracted its attention, while it agitated the whole kingdom. Sir Henry Vane and two other commissioners were sent to Edinburgh, where they accepted, on behalf of England, the ancient Scotch Covenant, with a few slight alterations, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant. The House of Commons solemnly subscribed their hands, and swore to observe it, September 15, 1643, and the House of Lords followed their example a few days afterwards.

The Independents, who now began to appear as a distinct organization, under the political leadership and guidance of Vane, Cromwell, Fiennes, and St. John, constituted a most important element in the Westminster Assembly. Although but a small minority of ten or twelve, they were supported by a powerful party in the House of Commons and in the

Army ;—and they soon became the ruling party in the land. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interference of the magistrate in religious concerns, and no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal functions, over its own pastor and its own members. The names of the twelve Independents to whom we have referred, are given by Orme, as follows: Thomas Goodwin, D. D., of London ; Philip Nye, of Kimbolton ; William Bridge, of Yarmouth ; Jeremiah Burroughs, of Stepney ; Sidrach Simpson, of London ; and William Greenhill, Peter Sterry, William Carter, Joseph Caryl, John Dury, John Philips, and William Strong. The last seven in this list of names were more or less inclined to the principles of the Independents ;—the first five were generally known by the name of the Five Dissenting Brethren, as they generally took the lead in all public discussions, and were mostly employed in drawing up the printed papers.

These men having in former years been silenced by the violent persecutions of Laud and Wren, had retired to Holland, where they founded Independent churches and preached for a time to their expatriated countrymen. Goodwin and Nye resided at Arnheim, and were highly esteemed for their piety and talents. Bridge went to Rotterdam and became pastor of an English congregation which had previously been formed by the notorious Hugh Peters. Burroughs and Simpson also resided in Rotterdam. They were all men of acknowledged ability, and seem to have been specially fitted for the prominent part, to which their position in the Westminster Assembly, as Independents, naturally assigned them.

The question of the government of the future church was warmly contested in the Assembly. The Presbyterians maintained the divine authority of their discipline, while the Independents protested against the ecclesiastical tyranny which they believed it would introduce. "It is inconvenient," said Nye, "to nourish such a vast body in a commonwealth: it is not to be endured. Men are already troubled to think whether Presbytery shall be set up *jure divino*, and no wonder; for, if it be it will grow so as to become as big as the civil power. When two vast bodies are of equal amplitude, if they disagree it will be naught, and if they agree it will be worse." The Presbyterians prevailed both in the Assembly and in the House of Commons. Thereupon the five Independent leaders published, about the end of January, 1644, a treatise or protest, entitled "An Apologetical Narration, humbly submitted to the Honorable Houses of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge." This naturally led to the publication of an Apology, or a series of answers on the part of the Scotch commissioners and others. From this time forward, says Hetherington, the contest between the Independents and the Presbyterians became one of irreconcilable rivalry, to which the utter defeat of the one or the other was the only possible termination.

The author of "Paradise Lost" was now in the beginning of his career of fame as a great writer and scholar, and a zealous advocate of civil and religious liberty. Abandoning for a time his literary schemes, he had already plunged into the tumult of political controversy. Regarding Prelacy as the cause of all that was wrong and reactionary in English society, he urged with resistless eloquence and logic, that it be abolished root and branch, and that the Long

Parliament and other legislative powers be stirred up and incited, by every possible means, to the work of changing the ecclesiastical system of England, and substituting therefor a more popular and democratic form of church government and discipline. For several years he devoted his time mainly to this one topic. His first treatise was an elaborate historical essay on "Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it." This was followed by a second on "Prelatical Episcopacy," containing an examination of arguments in favor of its antiquity and apostolic origin, advanced at the time by Bishop Hall and Archbishop Usher. A third and more comprehensive treatise followed this last, entitled "The Reason of Church-government urged against Prelaty." His next treatise was "Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus," the Remonstrant being Bishop Hall, and Smectymnuus a designation for five Presbyterian ministers who had attacked him; and his fifth and last, was "An Apology for Smectymnuus," drawn out by an answer to the preceding. These treatises contributed preëminently to humiliate the Prelacy and abridge its power; but the Presbyterians, who had now attained the ascendancy, exhibited the same intolerant disposition that the Episcopalians had done. Like all rulers whose object is to abridge the liberties of the people, their first care was to restrain the press. They revived the *imprimatur* of the Star-chamber, and expurgated every book of every word or phrase which accorded not with their taste. This grievance Milton also combatted in his noble "Areopagetica," or "A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing; addressed to the Parliament of England." "If," said the author, "it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves and suspicious of all men, as to fear each

book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall now come to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some, but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controversy, that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing." The "*Areopagitica*" was published in the year 1644, and contributed in no small degree to the decline of the Presbyterian party.

It was about this time that Williams, who had arrived in England in the autumn of the previous year, published his "*Queries*" proposed to both the Independents and the Presbyterians, "upon occasion of their late printed Apologies," and "presented to the view of the Right Honorable the Houses of the High Court of Parliament." With characteristic boldness he criticises whatever he finds in the acts and principles of the contending parties at variance with the word of God. His liberal views as set forth in these "*Queries of Highest Consideration*," were evidently far in advance of his times. The closing paragraph of the introduction illustrates the spirit and design of the author.

"It shall never be your honor to this or future ages, to be confined to the patterns of either French, Dutch, Scotch or New-English Churches. We humbly conceive some higher act concerning religion attends and becomes your consultations. If He whose name is Wonderful, Counsellor, be consulted according to His last will and testament, as you may please in the *Queries* to view, we are confident you shall exceed the acts and patterns of all neighbor nations; highly exalt the name of the Son of God; provide for the peace of this distressed State; engage the souls of all that fear God to

give thanks and supplicate for you ; further the salvation of thousands, and leave the sweet perfume of your names precious to all succeeding generations."

The only copy of the "Queries" of which we have any knowledge is in the Library of the British Museum. From this an exact transcript has been made for the Narragansett Club by one of the employees of the Institution, through the kindly offices of the Rev. Dr. E. B. Underhill, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Haverford Knollys Society, and editor of most of their publications. The present reprint is undoubtedly accurate, although we have not been able of course to compare it with the original.

R. A. G.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, March, 1867.





# Q U E R I E S OF HIGHEST CONSIDERATION,

Proposed to

{	Mr. <i>Tho. Goodwin</i>	{	Mr. <i>Jer. Burroughs</i>
	Mr. <i>Phillip Nye</i>		Mr. <i>Sidr. Simpson.</i>
	Mr. <i>Wil. Bridges</i>		

A N D

To the Commiffioners from the Generall  
Affembly (fo called) of the Church  
Of

## S C O T L A N D;

Vpon occafion of their late Printed Apologies for  
themselves and their *Churches*.

In all Humble Reverence prefented to the view  
of the Right Honourable the Houfes of the  
High Court of Parliament.



L O N D O N,

Imprinted in the yeare MDCXLIV.





TO THE  
Right Honourable  
*Both Houses of the High Court*  
Of  
PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable,



*T*is a wofull Priviledge attending all great States and Personages, that they seldome heare any other Musick but what is Known will please them.

*Though our Musick sound not sweet but harsh, yet please you first to Know, it is not fitted to your Eares, but to your Hearts, and the bleeding Heart of this afflicted Nation.*

*'Tis true, we have been humbly bold to presume as Ester into Ahafuerus his presence, against your Order: For who can passe the many Locks and Bars of any the severall Licencers appointed by you with such a Message? By such Circumscribing and immuring of your selves by such a Guard (their Persons we honour and esteem) it is rarely possible that any other Light, but what their Hemispheare affoord, shall ever shine on your Honours Souls, though ne're so sweet, so necessary, and though it come from God, from Heaven.*

*These worthy and much esteemed Persons unto whom we Quæry we have heard to be Men of Conscience, of Abilities,*

*and are in this worthy of double Honour, that (according to their Consciences) they appear in the Front and present their Moulds and Patterns of Church Government from Holland, from Scotland, to our inquiring England.*

*Their mutual just Exceptions which they have already or may further expresse against each others Tenents we leave to themselves, (though we might expresse them to our advantage) we shall be humbly bold in the name of the Lord Jesus; and the many thousand precious souls, for whom he hath paid so deare a Ransome; to present such Quæries to your Honours view, as respect their joint Agreement (Pardon the Phrase) like Ephraim and Manasseh (though fighting each against other, yet) both against Christ Jesus the Lion of Judah's Tribe; we mean so farre as they oppose the Truth and Purity of his last will and Testament.*

*Most Renowned Patriots, You sit at Helme in as great a Storm, as ere poor Englands Common-wealth was lost in: Yet be you pleased to remember, that (excepting the affaires of Heaven, of Religion, of Soules, of Eternity) all your Consultations, Conclusions, Executions, are not of the Quantity, of the value of one poor drop of water, or the little dust of the Ballance, if Esaiah were a true Prophet. Esa. 40. 15.*

*Yet concerning Soules, we will not (as most doe) charge you with the loads of all the Soules in England, Scotland, Ireland: wee shall humbly affirme, and (by the help of Christ) maintaine, that the Bodies and Goods of the Subject is your charge: Their Soules and yours are set on account to those that professe to be the Lights and Guides, the Messengers and Embassadors sent from Heaven to them.*

*You will please to say: We are constantly told and we believe it, that Religion is our first Care, and Reformation of that our greatest Taske.*

*Right Honourable, your Wifdomes Know the Fatall Mifcarriages of Englands Parliaments in this point; what setting up, pulling downe, what Formings, Reformings, and againe Deformings, to admiration.*

*Three Instances are dreadfull, yet to expresse seasonable*

*First, The last and best of Englands changes, established Lord Bishops: they and two more (Priests and Deacons) are by Law the established Ministers of Englands Church: The former makes the latter, so far as concerns a lawfull externall Calling. The Lord Bishops themselves, are now voted Antichristian; Your Wifdomes then see what Callings by Law, the other two sorts, Priests and Deacons have all this while bin furnished with.*

*Secondly if hee that eates and drinkes the Body and blood of Christ unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne judgement, and all English soules are bound by Law to eate that Body and Blood at fixteene, who sees not, since (as tis confest scarce one of a thousand but is found ignorant, Impenitent, Unregenerate at those yeeres) that the Body of the People are compelled by Law, to eat and drink at sixteen their own judgment.<sup>1</sup>*

*Thirdly, for Non-conforming to these and other practises, the English Masse-Booke, &c., what heavy Persecution have thousands felt and that by Law established?*

*We shall in all humble Reverence, suggest our Feares, that for the very Laws and Statutes of Englands Parliaments concerning Religion, and happily for some not yet suspected, the Lord Iesus hath drawne this Sword, that's daily drunke with English Blood.*

*It shall never be your Honour to this or future Ages, to be*

<sup>1</sup> THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, says Neal, was by act of Parliament, ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom of England by all persons above the

age of eighteen years. By what law "all English souls" were bound to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ at sixteen, does not so readily appear.

*confined to the Patterns of either French, Dutch, Scotch, or New-English Churches We humbly conceive some higher Act concerning Religion, attends and becomes your Consultations If he whose name is, wonderfull, Counsellor, be consulted and obeyed according to his last Will and Testament (as you may please in the Quæries to view) wee are confident you shall exceed the Acts and Patternes of all Neighbour Nations; highly exalt the name of the Son of God; provide for the Peace of this distressed State, engage the Soules of all that feare God, to give Thankes and Supplicate for you; further the Salvation of thousands, and leave the sweet perfume of your Names, precious to all succeeding Generations.*



# Q U E R I E S

PROPOUNDED

To the five *Holland* Ministers, and  
the *Scotch Commissioners*.

WORTHY SIRS,



N serious Examination of your late  
*Apologies*, we shall in all due respect  
and tenderneſſe humbly Querie :

First, what Precept or Pattern hath  
the Lord Jeſus left you in his laſt  
Will and Teſtament for your *Synod*

or Aſſembly of Divines, by vertue of which you may  
expect his *preſence* and *aſſiſtance*.

If you ſay (as all Popiſh *Synods* and Councels doe)  
the Pattern is plain, *Acts* 15. We aſke if two or  
three Brethren of one particular Congregation at  
*Antioch*, ſent to that firſt Mother Church at *Jeruſa-*  
*lem*, where the Apoſtles were, who being (immedi-  
ately) inſpir'd from God, could ſay, *It ſeemeth good to*  
*the holy Spirit and Vs, to lay upon you no greater bur-*  
*then, &c.*, as alſo who had power to make Decrees  
for all the Churches, *Acts* 16. We aſke whether

Querie I.  
*What war-*  
*rant from*  
*the Lord*  
*Jeſus for*  
*the Aſſem-*  
*bly of Di-*  
*viners ?*

*Acts* 15.  
*examined.*

*A Nation-  
all Aſſem-  
bly neceſſa-  
rily inſor-  
ceth an  
Aſſembly of  
the whole  
world.* this be a Pattern, for a Nation or Kingdome (and ſo conſequently for more Nations and all the World if under one Government, as in *Auguſtus Cæſars* tax) to ſend their ſeverall Priests and Deacons (for other ſpirituall Officers than Biſhops, Priests and Deacons you know we have not) to reforme or forme a Religion, &c?

Dan. 3. We pray you to conſider, if the golden Image be not a type and figure of the ſeverall Nationall and State Religions, which all Nations ſet up and Ours hath done, for which the wrath of God is now upon Us?

*The Title,  
the Aſſem-  
bly of Di-  
vines ex-  
amined.* We pray you alſo to anſwer in what part of Chriſts Teſtament is found that title, *The Aſſembly of Divines*; and whether it be not in Engliſh, *The Church of Godly ones*? And as we Queried your ground for ſuch a Church ſo have we alſo cauſe to pray you to tell us, Where Chriſt Jeſus hath given you power to aſſume and appropriate ſuch a Title to your ſelves, which ſeems in Scripture to be common to all the Children of God?

*That Title  
the Aſſem-  
bly of god-  
ly Divines  
examined.* Some expreſſe it in Print and pulpit, the Aſſembly of godly Divines; we derogate not from the worth or godlineſſe of any of them; yet you Know the Aſſembly of Saints or godly Divines is no other in Engliſh then the Aſſembly or Church of Saints, or *godly godly ones All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution*: We preſume you will grant others to be Saints and godly too in that ſence: but Oh that that whole Aſſembly or Congregation were truly reſolved (by way of Eminencie) to lead all the godly in the Land in ſuch a Chriſtian practice.



# QUERIE II.

Whereas you both agree (though with ſome difference) that the Civill Magiſtrate muſt Reform the Church, eſtabliſh Religion, and ſo conſequently muſt firſt Judge, and Judicially Determine which is True, which is False: or elſe muſt implicitly beleeeve as the Aſſembly beleeves, and take it upon truſt, and ſo conſequently is he the Head, Root and Fountain of the Supremacie of all Spirituall power and hath the power of the Keyes of *opening and ſhutting heaven gates, &c.* Of which power upon a grudge (as tis ſaid) about his Wife, King *Henry deſpoild the Pope*, and with conſent and Act of Parla ment, ſate down himſelfe in the Popes Chaire in *England* as ſince his Succeſſors have done?

King  
Henry the  
8 ſet down  
in the Popes  
chaire.

We now Querie ſince the Parla ment (being the repreſentative Commonwealthe) hath no other power but what the Common weale derive unto, and betruſt it with; whether it will not evidently follow, that the Common-weale, the Nation, the Kingdome, and (if it were in *Auguſtus* his time) the whole world muſt rule and govern the Church, and Chriſt himſelfe as the Church is called, 1 *Cor.* 12. 12.

The Com-  
mon weale,  
yea the  
world the  
head of the  
Church.

Furthermore, if the Honourable Houſes (the repreſentative Common-weale) ſhall erect a Spirituall Court, for the judging of Spirituall Men and Spirituall Cauſes (although a new Name be put upon it, yet) whether or no ſuch a Court is not in the true nature and kind of it, an High Commiſſion? And is not this a reviving of *Moſes*, and the ſanctifying of a new Land of *Canaan*, of which we heare nothing in

A new  
High Com-  
miſſion.

the Teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus, nor of any other holy Nation, but the particular Church of Chriſt? 1 *Pet.* 2. 9.

Is not this to ſubject this *holy Nation*, this heavenly Jeruſalem, the Wife and Spouſe of Jeſus, *the pillar and ground of Truth*, to the vain uncertain and changeable Mutations of this preſent evill world?

*The Par-  
laments of  
Englands  
wonderfull  
changes in  
Religion.*

Who knowes not in how few yeares the Common weale of *England* hath ſet up and pull'd down? The Fathers made the Children Hereticks, and the Children the Fathers. How doth the Parliament in *Henry* the 8. his days condemn the abſolute Popery in *Henry* the ſeventh? How is in *Edwards* the 6. his time the Parliament of *Henry* the 8 condemned for their halfe Popery halfe Proteſtantiſme? How ſoon doth Queen *Maries* Parliament condemn *Edward* for his abſolute Proteſtantiſme? And *Elizabeths* Parliament as ſoon condemn Queen *Maries* for their abſolute Popery? 'Tis true, Queen *Elizabeth* made Lawes againſt Popery and Papiſts but the Government of Biſhops, the Common Prayer, the Ceremonies were then ſo high in that Queen and Parlements eye, that the Members

*The pre-  
ſent Par-  
lament  
would have  
been eſteem-  
ed Hereti-  
call in for-  
mer times.*

of this preſent and ever renowned Parliament, would have then been counted little leſſe than Hereticks. And oh! ſince the Common-weale cannot without a ſpirituall rape force the conſciences of all to one Worſhip, oh that it may never commit that rape, in forcing the conſciences of all men to one Worſhip, which a ſtronger arme and Sword may ſoon (as formerly) ariſe to alter.

### QUERIE III.

Whether since you professe to be Builders, you have not cause to feare and tremble, least you be found to reject the *Corner stone*, in not fitting to him only *living stones*? 1 *Pet.* 2. Of these *living stones*, (true Beleevers) the costly Stones of the Temple were types; and without true matter, which (as it is in all works in the World) it is impossible to build a spirituall House unto God?

This matter, the One of you confesse and practice, the Other questions and mingles Sheep and Goats together, contrary to the spirituall nature of the Lord Jesus, and his true Pattern; contrary to the nature of God, who is a Spirit and will be Worshipped by Spirituall Worshippers; contrary to the peace and Safety of any naturall Soule and conscience, hardned in a dream of Fellowship with God, who saith to the ungodly, *What bath thou to doe to take my Covenant into thy mouth and hatest to be reformed?* Psal. 50.

### QUERIE IV.

Whether in your consciences before God, you be not perswaded (notwithstanding your promiscuous joyning with all) that few of the People of *England* and *Scotland*, and fewer of the Nobles and Gentry are such *spirituall matter, living stones*, truly regenerate and converted; and therefore, Whether it be not the greatest Courtesie in the world, which you may possibly perform unto them, to acquaint them impartially with their conditions and how impossible it is for a

dead Stone to have Fellowship with the *living God*, and for any man to enter into the Kingdome of God, without a ſecond Birth? *John 3.*

### QUERIE V.

*Impossible to reforme the dead in Sin, the ſpiritually living, are only capable of reformation according to Chriſt.* Although the fame and found is great of Reformation we Querie, Whether a dead ſoule is capable of any Reformation, untill the firſt principle of Chriſtianity, Repentance (*Heb. 6. 6.*) be found in him: otherwiſe, as a thouſand ſeverall renewed Forms of Apparell, alters not the condition of a dead man; or a thouſand new Formes of Poſtures of an Armie of Cavaliers cannot make a Parlament Army: So we Querie how poſſible that a perſon or perſons, viſibly in a ſtate of *nature*, dead in ſinne, in a ſtate of *enmitie* and *oppoſition* againſt God (*Ephes. 2. Rom. 8.*) can ever pleaſe God, be viſibly married to God, fight for him under the Banners of Love, &c. Allegations may be brought from the *corruptions* of the Church of the Jewes and the Churches of Chriſt: but We doe not uſe to define a Man by his Diſeaſes, nor a Garden by Weeds, nor a Citie by a Tumult, or an Army by a Rout or diſorder, eſpecially when we treat upon an Inſtitution or Reſtauration.

*Definitions of ought muſt not be from the corruption but Inſtitution of it according to which muſt be the Reformation.*

### QUERIE VI.

*Excellent Witneſſes of Chriſt Jeſus who never pro-* Although you both profeſſe your Holyneſſe, Diligence, Zeale, Courage, Selfe-denyall, Patience, and the one of you the incomparable ſpirit of your Fathers in the work of Reformation; yet we Querie, Whether

there hath not been as Holy, Able and Zealous Men ſince the Apoſtacie, Men like *Antipas*, Rev. 2. *faithfull Witneſſes* of the Lord Jeſus (in what Light they ſaw) even to Death, who yet never came up to ſuch a worke of Reformation as you ſpeak of: yea (without offence be it ſpoken) have there not been as excellent and heavenly Reformers as your ſelves and Fathers, whoſe profeſſed Reformation you now diſlike? Who ſhall outſhine many of the Waldenſian Reformers for Holynesse, Zeale, patience? Where is, or hath that pretious man been found, who hath (for perſonall excellencies) outſhined *Luther*? and who ſhall o'retop thoſe glorious Cedars *Biſhops, Doctors*, &c. burnt for Chriſt Jeſus in Queen *Maries* dayes? &c.

Yea, where the Church we grant to have been true (according to its Inſtitution, for the time of it) What Aſſembly, what Parla-ment can compare with that of *David* and his Captains of thouſands, Captains of hundreths, and every Leader and all the Congregation of *Iſrael* from *Shiſhor* of Egypt, to the entering in of *Hemath* aſſembled together to reform the worſhip of God, in that true, but Nationall, Typical, Church eſtate of *Iſrael*? What rejoycing, what playing was there of *David* and all *Iſrael* with Harps, Pſalteries, Timbrells, Cymballs and Trumpets, and yet how angry was God, what a Breach did he make? for *David* and all *Iſrael* tranſgreſt the appointed Order, 1 *Cron.* 1. 13. 1 *Cron.* 15.

*ceeded to a Church eſtate.*

*Excellent reformers whoſe work now ſeems to be beſide the firſt Pattern, and this Age diſlikes, forſakes, &c.*

*One of the greateſt Parla-ments that ever was, after all rejoycing and triumphing in it found Gods anger for their errors, in reformation of His worſhip.*

# QUERIE VII.

*A Nation-  
all Cove-  
nant and a  
Nationall  
Church,  
not found  
in the Doc-  
trine of the  
Son of  
God.*

*Such as  
hold a Na-  
tionall  
Church of  
God must  
needs dis-  
claim  
Christ and  
follow  
Moses.*

*If one  
whole Na-  
tion, where  
should we  
stop, why  
may not  
many and  
the whole  
world?  
&c.*

*The nature  
of the true*

Since the Law was given by *Moses*, but Grace and Truth came by *Jesus Christ*, by whom (though God spake divers times and divers wayes to the Fathers) he hath now revealed his councill in these last times, Heb. 1. We Querie, where you now find one footstep, Print or Pattern in this Doctrine of the Son of God, for a Nationall holy Covenant, and so consequently (though we conceive the one of you stumble at it) a Nationall Church? Where find you evidence of a whole Nation, Country or Kingdom converted to the Faith and of Christs appointing of a whole Nation or Kingdome to walk in one way of Religion?

If you repaire to *Moses*, consult with *Moses* and the old Covenant or Testament, we aske, are you *Moses* or *Christs* Followers? or do you yet expect the coming of the Son of God to set up the Christian *Israel*, the holy Nation, the particular Congregation of Christian Worshipers, in all parts of the world? 1 *Pet.* 2. *Heb.* 12. &c.

We further Querie, Whether a Nationall Covenant lead not (in case, and as is practised) unavoydably to a holy Covenant of many Nations? yet to a holy league or Covenant (in case of *Augustus* his Government) of the whole world, which should then turne the Darling and Spouse of God between whom and it there is such enmitie, that *if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him?* 1 *John* 2.

The Doctrine of *Christ Jesus* tells us that, *Acts* 10. 35. *That in every Nation be that feares God &c.*

Not every Nation that feares God. Chriſt Jeſus tells us that his Church may come together to break bread in One place, 1 *Cor.* 11. which Nations and Countries cannot poſſibly doe: Chriſt Jeſus tells us that his Congregation is now the Common-weale of *Iſrael*, inveſted with the true Kingly power of the Lord Jeſus, to put forth every wicked perſon (though King or Keyſar) from amongſt them.

We Querie, Whether it be poſſible there ſhould be 2 true ſorts or kinds of Churches, any more then 'tis poſſible there may be 2 true Parlements in *England*, though many ſcores or hundreths ſhould be called?

There are indeed 3 ſcore Queens, and 4 ſcore Concubines and Virgins without number, which ſeem to imply (and that even in theſe times, as ſome alſo have interpreted) ſeverall kinds of Congregations or Churches, and yet Chriſts Dove is but *one*, and the only one of her mother, Cant. 6. The Light of much Truth may ſhine forth on the *brazen Candleſticks* of ſtrong Nationall Churches maintained and held up by the ſeeming ſtrong Sword of Steel in an Arme of Fleſhe &c. There may be *ſilver Candleſticks* more refin'd and pure in reſpect of the Matter of which they are conſtituted, viz. godly perſons, &c. But Chriſt Jeſus only walks in the midd'ſt of his *Golden Candleſticks*, Gathered and Governed after the Golden Inſtitution of Chriſts Word, which is like fine Gold, *Rev.* 1. *Pſa.* 19.

Againe, we aſke, Whether in the Conſtitution of a Nationall Church, it can poſſibly be framed without a racking and tormenting of the Soules, as well

*rack Soules  
and Bodies.* as of the Bodies of persons, for it seems not possible to fit it to every conscience: sooner shall one suit of Apparell fit every Body, one Law president every Case, or one Size or Last every Foot?

*The dan-  
gerous con-  
sequences  
of it.* Lastly, Whether it be not the cause of a world of Hypocrites, the Soothing up of people in a Formall State Worship to the ruine of their Soules: the ground of Persecution to Christ Jesus in his Members, and sooner or later, the Kindling of the devouring flames of Civill Warres, as all Ages justifie?

### QUERIE VIII.

*No Wars  
for Christ  
but Christ-  
ian or  
Spirituell.* Whether, although (as is exprest) the godly in the 3 Kingdomes desire a Reformation: yet since the Lamb of God and Prince of Peace hath not in his Testament given us a Pattern, Precept or Promise, for the undertaking of a civill War for his sake: we Querie how with comfort to your Souls you may encourage the English Treasure to be Exhausted, and the English Blood to be spilt for the Cause of Christ?

*War law-  
full in  
civill cases.* We readily grant the Civill Magistrate armed by God with a civill Sword (*Rom. 13.*) to execute vengeance against Robbers, Murtherers, Tyrants, &c. Yet where it meerly concerns Christ, we find when his Disciples desire vengeance upon Offenders, *Luke 9*, he meekly answers, *You know not what spirit you are of, I came not to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them.*

*Christ  
Jesus for-  
bids fight-  
ing for his  
sake.* If ever there were cause for the servants of Christ Jesus to fight it was then when (not his Truth, or Servants, or Ordinances, but) his own most holy Person was in danger, *Math. 26.* yet then, that Lamb of



God checks *Peter* beginning to fight for him, telling him, *that all that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword*, for with one Request to his Father, he could have been rescued by more than 12 Legions of Angells: He renders the Reason of his unwilling-<sup>The Reasons of it.</sup> nesse to have Fighting for his sake, which was his Fathers good pleasure in the fulfilling of the Scripture: Unto which also may be added, *John* 18. 36. *My Kingdome is not of this world, if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered, &c.*

If it be said his Kingdome then was not of this world, but now it is or shall be: then was the hower of his Suffering, but now of his servants Reigning: <sup>Christ's sufferings to be fill'd up by his Followers.</sup> we Querie, What filling up of the sufferings of Christ *Paul* speaks of, *Col.* 1. when he mentioneth *that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ?* What means that generall Rule of the Lord *Jesus* *Luke* 9. *If any man will follow me, let him take up his Crosse or Gibbet:* and that of *Paul*, *2 Tim.* 4. *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution?*

We Querie (if Securitie may be taken by the Wif-<sup>The consciences of Idolaters not to be oppress'd by the Sword.</sup> dome of the State for civill Subjection) why even the Papists themselves and their Consciences may not be permitted in the World? For otherwise, if *Englands* Government were the Government of the whole World, not onley They, but a world of Idolaters of all sorts, yea the whole World must be driven out of the World?

We Querie, Whether the Common Body of Pro-<sup>Ignorant Papists not such great sinners as</sup> testants, impenitent and unregenerate, be not further off Salvation, and lye not under a greater guilt (like

*Knowing  
Protes-  
tants.*

*Chorazin and Bethſaida*) then does the body of ignorant Papiſts? and we humbly deſire it may be deeply pondered what ſhould be the kindling of the Jealouſie of God, to poure forth the Blood of ſo many Thouſands of Proteſtants, by the bloody hands of the Papiſts (ſince moſt juſt He is and righteous in all his Judgements) whether or no the Lawes enacted, and Violence offered even to the Conſciences of the Papiſts themſelves, have not kindled theſe devouring flames?

*The Prophe-  
cies of  
Daniel and  
John not  
ſo eaſily  
demonſtra-  
ted.*

'Tis true, the Propheſies are great concerning Chriſt and Antichriſt throughout the Prophets and the *Revelation*, but can you ſufficiently demonſtrate theſe to the conſciences of men? Are you thoſe our bleſſed Prophets which can tell us *how long Pſal.* 74.

Can you clear up the myſteries of *Daniels* 2300 dayes, *Dan.* 8. *Daniels* 7 weeks and 3 ſcore and 2 weeks, his one week, and his halfe week, *Dan.* 9? His *time, times, and half a time*, his 1290 dayes, and 1335 dayes, *Dan.* 12?

*Daniels  
and Johns  
myſtical  
Numbers.*

Can you unlock thoſe myſticall numbers of *Johns* 42 moneths, 1260 dayes; the 3 dayes and a halfe *Rev.* 11. 12. the *time, times and half a time*, *Rev.* 12, and the *thouſand yeare*, *Rev.* 20 with divers others, which may eſtabliſh the Judgements and Conſciences of Men, and give them Warrant whereon to venture their Souls, and ſhed their Bloods, for the preſent deſtruction of Pope and Popery (not by the breath of Chriſts mouth, and the Sword of the Spirit, but) by the breath of murdering Canons, and a flaming Sword of ſteele?

*The won-  
derful*

Otherwiſe we Querie, Whether the the blood of ſo many hundreth thouſand Proteſtants, mingled with

the blood of ſo many hundreth thouſand Papiſts, as *ſlaughter of Papiſts and Proteſtants in the famous Warres of the Waldenſians.* was ſpilt ſome hundreth yeares ſince in the Waldenſian warres, when all the Proteſtant partie that took the Sword periſhed with it, be not a warning to us their offſpring?

'Tis true, *Iohn* tells us of Chriſts great Battells againſt the Kings of the Earth, againſt the Beaſt and and falſe Prophet againſt *Gog* and *Magog*; but where ſpeaks he of other Ammunition and Artillerie, uſed by the Saints, but what we find in *Pauls* Chriſtian Magazine, *Ephes. 6*?

Where read we of any other Horſe and Armes but thoſe all *white* *Rev. 19.* and yet the Lamb ſhall have the Victorie over the Beaſt, and falſe Prophet, and over *Gog* and *Magog* in the appointed ſeaſon. *The great battels of Chriſt Jeſus yet to be fought.*

### QUERIE IX.

You both profeſſe great Sufferings, &c. We Querie, Whether any of the Sufferings of Gods Witneſſes ſince the Apoſtacie, have not been only right againſt the *darke* part, the Inventions, Abominations and Uſurpations of Anti-chriſt, according to *Rev. 11*? As for the *light* part, who ſees not, but to this day the Childrens Reformations in new changes condemn their Fathers, whoſe Zeale and Patience againſt the *dark* part, have hitherto exceeded the Childrens. *Gods children have been ſucceſſfull Witneſſes againſt the Abominations, &c., but never did well in Church Reformation, which their children after them diſcover, to vary from the Pat-*

We Querie, Whether the finiſhing of the Teſtimonie, with the ſlaughter of the Witneſſes, and their 3 dayes and halfe laſt great oppreſſion be over and paſt, that ſo the *light* part may ariſe in its brightneſſe? And though you commonly and only call thoſe Mar-

tern.  
Martyrs,  
that is Wit-  
nesses, not  
peculiar to  
those that  
die for  
Christ.

tyrs, who lost their lives for Jesus yet we also Querie, Whether Martyrs, that is Witnesses, *Rev.* 11. be not applyable to all the servants of Christ, who Witnesse against any part of the Beasts Kingdome and Tyranny, although they never Witnesse to the Death?

### QUERIE X.

Since you report your opposing and suppressing of Heresies and glorious success, &c. We Querie, Whether that be a demonstrative argument from the Scriptures, for a Truth of a Church, or Government of it, since even the Church of Rome may boast of the same against many Schismes and Heresies, and doth triumph with wonderfull success, even against the Truth, and the Witnesses of it, according to *Daniels* and *Johns* Prophecies? *Dan.* 11. *Rev.* 13.

God some-  
times gives  
great suc-  
cesse of  
Victorie,  
even to  
Idolaters.

Thus it pleased God in his Providence to turn the scales of Victorie (with a reliefe of their Armies) to the Idolatrous *Israelites* and *Edomites* against the *Moabites*, *2 Kings* 3. and miraculously to deliver Idolatrous Apostate *Israel* from the mighty Armies of the *Syrians*, *2 Kings* 7. Thus he also rewarded hypocriticall *Jebu* for his temporall service in destroying *Ababs* house with a temporall Honour to the fourth generation, though himself and his continued in the Schisme, Apostacie and Idolatry of the house of *Israel*.

We pray you also to call to mind how it pleaseth God, out of the bottomless Ocean of his Goodnesse, to cause his Sun to shine, and his raines to fall upon the righteous and the wicked; and time and chance (saith *Salomon*) happens unto all, and one event.

It pleaſed the Lord to heare the Prayers of wicked *Abab*, and to remit his temporall Affliction upon his temporall Humiliation.

Thus the Lord Jeſus heard the prayers of the Divells themſelves, *Luke 8.* Upon the cry of the Idolatrous Mariners God mercifully provided to anſwer their prayers, and ceaſe the Storme by the caſting out of *Jonab*. Thus upon the external legall Humiliation of *Ninivie*, it was reprieved and ſpar'd a ſeaſon; and *Sodome* had not been burned to aſhes, but had continued untill Chriſts time, upon a ſuppoſition of their legall Humiliation, *Matth. 11.*

Thus although the Idolatrous *Aſſyrians* feared *Jebo-vab*, and ſerved their gods (*2 Kings 17.*) yet we hear no more of the Lions amongſt them when the King of *Aſſyria* had taken order for one of Iſraels Idolatrous Priests, to teach the *Aſſyreans* ſomething of the manner of Gods ſervice.

We Querie, Whether all theſe Inſtances amount to more than Evidences of the infinite Mercies, Goodneſſe and Patience of God but are not proofs of their Worſhipping of God according to his Ordinance, that their Inſtitutions were from him and their Reſormations according to his Appointment?

Yea, we further Querie, Whether the power of godlineſſe, ſhining forth in perſons may evidence their ſtate and Worſhip good? You both confeſſe the great profeſſion of the power of godlineſſe in *England*: yet we beleve the one of you acknowledge the Church of *England* as a Nationall Church not true; and both confeſſe the Government, Governours, and the Common Prayer (the Service and Worſhip of it) to be

*God ſome-times beares the prayers of legall cries of Idolaters, and the Divells themſelves.*

*Judgements taken off from the Aſſyrians, upon the leaſt ſhadow of Gods Worſhip.*

*The power of godlineſſe may ſhine in ſome perſons living in great propbanations of Gods worſhip.*

abominable. Yet it is confeſſed that *Englands falſe Nationall Church* with her *Biſhops, Common Prayer, ceremonies, &c.*, had more evidence of the *power of Godlines* in her Children, then was to be found amongſt the Scotch, French, Dutch, who pretend a Reformation purer. It ſeems therfore evident that neither oppoſing of Hereſies, nor ſucceſſe in Victories Deliverances, nor *power of godlineſſe* in ſome perſons, can evidence and prove their State and Worſhip to be right and pleaſing unto God, according to his Ordinance in Chriſt Jeſus.

#### QUERIE XI.

Since you both ſeem to magnifie the Scales of Baptiſme and the Lords Supper with a difference and excellency above other Ordinances, We Querie where the Lord Jeſus appointed ſuch a difference and diſtinction? And whether there was not as full Communion practiſed by the firſt Chriſtians in the Word, Prayer, and Communitie, as in the breaking of Bread? *Acts* 2. 42.

Further we Querie, ſince Baptiſme is one of thoſe Fundamentalls, *Heb.* 6., and every one that will be ſaved is bound to prove his Faith and his Baptiſme true (*Mark* 16. 16. *he that beleeveth and is baptiſed ſhall be ſaved.*) We Quere, how 2 Baptiſmes or 2 Great Seals can be true in the Kingdome of *Chriſt Jeſus*, any more than 2 Great Seales can be true in the Kingdome of *England*? And whether a Chriſtian Commiſſion, Pattent, Pardon, Writ, can be truly ſeal'd (as is maintained) from *Rome*, any more than

a civill Commission, Pattent, Pardon or Writ can be truly Sealed at *Oxford*?

To insist upon a late instance: since the Bishops power and Calling is condemned as Antichristian, how can we evidence the Seale of Baptisme true, which we have received from them?

Furthermore, since a true Baptisme giveth Right to all the Ordinances of Christ Jesus, we Querie, how any Protestant or Papist, whose Baptisme you acknowledge to be true, can be denied Communion in the Supper also, according to 1 Cor. 12. 12. *By one spirit are we all baptized into one body*, and consequently into the participation of the Ordinances thereof: and if so, we Querie how farre off *Rome* and the Pope himselve is from our bosomes?

#### QUERIE XII.

Since you both professe to want more Light, and that a greater Light is yet to be expected; yea, that the Church of *Scotland* may yet have need of a greater Reformation &c., we Querie, how you can professe and Sweare to Persecute all others as Schismaticques, Hereticks, &c., that beleeve they see a further Light and dare not joyn with either of your Churches? Whether the Lambes Wife have received any such Commission or Disposition from the Lamb her Husband, so to practise? Whether (as King JAMES once wrote upon Re. 20.) it be not a true mark and character of a false Church to Persecute? It being the nature only of a Wolf to hunt the Lambs and Sheep, but impossible for a Lamb or Sheep, or a

thousand Flocks of Sheep to persecute one Wolfe: we speak of spirituall Sheep and spirituall Wolves: for other Wolves against the Civill State, We professe it to be the Dutie of the Civill State to persecute and suppress them.

*The States of Holland in permitting other consciences obey the Command of Christ of permitting the Tares.*

And lastly, whether the States of *Holland* who tolerate, though not owne (as you say) the severall Sects amongst them which differ from them, & are of another *conscience* & *worship*, whether or no they com not neerer the *holy Pattern* & *commā*d of the Lord Jesus, to permit the *tares* to have a civill being in the *field* of the *world*, untill the *harvest* the end of it.

*Mat. 13.*

Whether those *tares* can possibly be taken for Hypocrites in the Church, or Scandalous persons in the Common weal, but are most properly false *worshippers*, and in especiall, and punctually intended by the Lord Jesus Antichristians, the Children of the *wicked one*, opposite to the true Christians, the Children of the *Kingdome*?

*No State for the time hath been blest by God as that to admiration.*

Whether for this very Truth which those States professe, beyond either *England* or *Scotland*, it hath not pleased the *Lord* to prosper the State, above any other State in the world, for the time, since such their wise Permission?

Whether there can possibly be expected the least look of Peace, in these fatall Distractions and Tempests raised, but by taking Councel of the great and wisest Polititian that ever was, the Lord Jesus Christ, in this particular?

We Know the Allegations against this Councell: the head of all is that from *Moses* (not Christ) his



Pattern in the typicall Land of *Canaan*, the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, &c. We humbly deſire it may be ſearched into, & we believe it will be found but one of *Mofes* ſhadows vaniſhed at the coming of the Lord Jeſus: yet ſuch a ſhadow as is directly oppoſite to the very Teſtament and coming of the Lord Jeſus. Oppoſite to the very nature of a Chriſtian Church, the only holy *Nation* and *Israel* of God. Oppoſite to the very tender Bowels of Humanity, (how much more of Chriſtianity?) abhorring to poure out the blood of Men meerly for their Soules believe and worſhip. Oppoſite to the very Eſſentials and Fundamentals of the Nature of a Civill Magiſtracie, a Civil *Common weal* or *combination* of Men, which can only reſpect *civill* things. Oppoſite to the Jewes Con-  
 version to Chriſt, by not permitting them a civill life or being. Oppoſite to the civill Peace, and the lives of Millions, ſlaughter'd upon this ground, in mutuall perſecuting each others Conſcience, eſpecially the Proteſtant and the Papiſt. Oppoſite to the Souls of all Men, who by perſecutions are raviſhed into a diſ- ſembled Worſhip, which their Hearts imbrace not. Oppoſite to the beſt of Gods ſervants, who in all Popiſh and Proteſtant States have been commonly eſteemed and perſecuted, as the only Schiſmaticks, Hereticks, &c. Oppoſite to that Light of Scripture which is expected yet to ſhine, which muſt by that Doctrin be ſuppreſt as a new or old Hereſie or Noveltie. All this in all Ages experience teſtifies, which never ſaw any long liv'd Fruit of Peace or Righteouſneſſe to grow upon that fatall Tree.

## APPENDIX.

THE following interesting letter from the Rev. Dr. Underhill, was received too late for the Narragansett Club to avail themselves of all the "tracings" which it describes. The original tract it appears has two titles, the first, which does not differ essentially from the second, being on the outside or cover. The words "all Independents," which are given in the TRANSCRIPT from which the "Queries" have been reprinted, and hence found in the title published in our Biographical Introduction to the Writings of Roger Williams, were added, it will be observed, with a pen, by Mr. Thomafin, the Collector of the Commonwealth pamphlets in the British Museum.

BAPTIST MISSION HOUSE,  
2 John Street, Bedford Row, }  
LONDON, March 1, 1867. }

MY DEAR SIR:

I have now the pleasure of forwarding you the tracings of Roger Williams's "Queries." They are all the titles and headings the tract contains. The copyist (F. E. Tucker) has given the shadings as near as possible, as well as the imperfections of the typography. On both title pages there are some pen and ink additions. These are said by the Librarian of the British Museum to be in the handwriting of the collector. You pro-

bably know that the Collection of Commonwealth Pamphlets in the Museum was the work of a man named Thomafin, who sold his collection to Charles II.; so that this valuable series came to be the possession of the Crown. George IV. gave it to the Museum. The collector it seems was in the habit of placing on every copy the exact date of its publication. Thus on the second title he has written Feby. 19, 1643—that is of course old style. We should now say 1644; but the collector wished doubts to be very accurate, and so corrected a very common practice among publishers, of dating their publications forward when near the end of a year. He has also on this page added in ink "all Independents" to the names of the five ministers. The ink of 1643 in this second page is rubbed, as the tracing shows, and so the collector added 1643 again above. Curiously on the third page the head ornament is printed upside down. The tracings are so good, that I have not thought it necessary to get a photograph; but I can do this if you should still desire it. I shall be very happy to assist you in any further work of the sort. \* \* \* \*

Believe me to remain

Yours very truly,

EDWARD B. UNDERHILL.

MR. REUBEN A. GUILD,  
Librarian Brown University.



















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